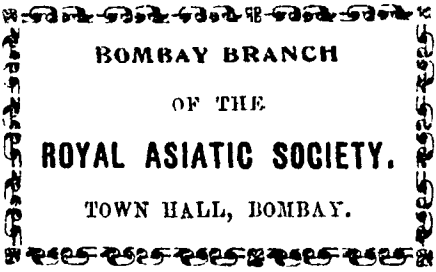
00030089



Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018

THE HISTORY OF ULSTER

JAMES II

From an engraving of the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

THE
HISTORY OF ULSTER

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

RAMSAY COLLES
LL.D. M.R.I.A. F.R.Hist.S.

30089

VOLUME III

LONDON
THE GRESHAM PUBLISHING COY. LTD.
SIXTY-SIX CHANDOS STREET COVENT GARDEN

00030089

CONTENTS

VOLUME III

Chapter		Page
I.	The Mutterings of the Approaching Storm	1
II.	The Bursting of the Storm-cloud	10
III.	The Horrors of Civil War	19
IV.	The Fortunes of War	27
V.	The Triumphs of Tichborne	35
VI.	The Scots Army in Ulster	44
VII.	King Charles and the Confederates	52
VIII.	Castlehaven's Invasion of Ulster	61
IX.	Glamorgan and the Great Seal	71
X.	The Battle of Benburb	79
XI.	O'Neill and his Ulstermen in Leinster	87
XII.	Defeat of the Royalists	96
XIII.	Oliver Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	105
XIV.	Cromwell's Campaign in Ulster	115
XV.	The Last Efforts of Ulster	124
XVI.	Charles II repudiates the Peace	133
XVII.	Close of the Cromwellian Campaign	140
XVIII.	A "Wild and Woeful Land"	148
XIX.	The Cromwellian Settlement	156
XX.	The Restoration	163
XXI.	"New Presbyter" and "Old Priest"	171

Contents

Chapter		Page
XXII.	The Arts of Peace in Ulster	180
XXIII.	"The Old Order Changeth"	188
XXIV.	Tyrconnell, Lord of Misrule	196
XXV.	Londonderry and Enniskillen Revolt	204
XXVI.	The Brave Inniskillings	212
XXVII.	King James in Ulster	222
XXVIII.	The Siege of Londonderry	230
XXIX.	The Siege of Londonderry (*Cont.*)	238
XXX.	The Siege of Londonderry (*Cont.*)	247
	Index to Vol. III	257

LIST OF PLATES

VOLUME III

	Page
James II	*Frontispiece*
Greencastle Fort	20
Sir William Parsons	52
Owen Roe O'Neill	90
Oliver Cromwell	112
Charlemont Fort	134
Sir Phelim O'Neill	146
James Butler, Duke of Ormonde	170
Plan of Londonderry	204
David Cairns	222
Rev. George Walker	234
The Siege of Londonderry	250

COLOURED MAP

Map of Cromwellian Settlement	160

HISTORY OF ULSTER

VOLUME THREE

CHAPTER I

The Mutterings of the Approaching Storm

Execution of Strafford—The Danger of arming Irishmen—Strafford's Opinions thereon, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard's—Lord Castlehaven on the Grievances which resulted in Rebellion—Intolerant Attitude of the Puritans—The Irish under Arms on the Continent—Some of the Irish Leaders—Rory O'Moore—Sir Phelim O'Neill—Owen Roe O'Neill.

The trial and death of Strafford belong rather to English than to Irish history, but so commanding a personality cannot be permitted to disappear from these pages without any reference to the fate that awaited the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on his arrival in London. The Long Parliament was opened on the 3rd of November, 1640, and one of its first acts was the impeachment of Strafford. Many of the charges against him related to his Irish administration, but the most serious of them, in the eyes of the Puritans, were his attempts to establish the arbitrary power of the Crown and his enrolment of an army of "Irish Papists", which he was accused of intending to bring over to support the King against his subjects in England. A deputation from the Irish Parliament, which had so recently lauded him, arrived with a "remonstrance of grievances" against him; and he was convicted of offences amounting in the aggregate

to constructive treason. The King made a faint attempt in the House of Lords to save his faithful servant, but the Bill of Attainder was passed on the 8th of May, 1641; on the 10th, Charles signed the Bill by commission, and on the 12th, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill.

It must be admitted that Strafford's rule in Ireland, though vigorous and able, was far from just; and while Ulster benefited thereby to the extent of the establishment of one of her most staple industries, the linen trade, it was accompanied, in the southern districts especially, by wholesale spoliation, galling oppression, terrorism, religious proscription, and even national degradation. The sowing of such dragons' teeth as these must of necessity produce a plentiful crop of armed men, and such proved to be the case.

Of the armed Irishman Strafford himself had a wholesome dread. Even in the early days of his viceroyalty he wrote on this subject a warning letter to the King when Charles contemplated raising an army in Ireland. "It had been the safer for your Majesty to have given liberty for the raising five times as many here in England; because these could not have been debauched in their faith, where those were not free of suspicion, especially being put under command of O'Neill and O'Donnell, the sons of two infamous and arch-traitors, and so likely not only to be trained up in the discipline of war, but in the art of rebellion also. Secondly, as your Majesty's Deputy I must tell him, if the state of this kingdom were the same as in Queen Elizabeth's time, I should more apprehend the travel and disturbance which two hundred of these men might give us here, being natives, and experienced in their own faculty as soldiers, being sent to mutiny and discipline their own countrymen against the Crown, than of as many more Spaniards, as they sent in those days to Kinsale for relief of the rebels."

That this was no passing phase in Strafford's mind, but

a deeply rooted conviction, is proved by his writing, many years later, under the stress of the threatened Scottish invasion of Ulster, giving expression to his fears of dire possibilities likely to arise from this arming and drilling the Irish. "What sudden outrage", he said, referring to Antrim's proposal, "may be apprehended from so great a number of the native Irish, children of habituated rebels, brought together without pay or victual, armed with our own weapons, ourselves left naked the whilst? What scandal of His Majesty's service it might be in a time thus conditioned to employ a general and a whole army in a manner Roman Catholics? What affright or pretence this might give for the Scottish, who are at least four score thousand in those parts, to arm also, under colour of their own defence?" "It is not safe", he said, to train the Irish "up more than needs must in the military way, which . . . might arm their old affections to do us more mischief, and put new and dangerous thoughts into them after they are returned home. . . ."

Sir Benjamin Rudyard expressed the same opinion. "It was never fit", he said, "to suffer the Irish to be promiscuously made soldiers abroad, because it may make them abler to trouble the State when they come home. Their intelligence and practice with the princes whom they shall serve may prove dangerous to that Kingdom of Ireland."

"Events", to use a bold if somewhat mixed metaphor employed by Mr. Tim Healy, M.P., "were now crystallizing, destined in the near future to return with a boomerang influence." The four provinces of Ireland were seething with discontent. The royalist Earl of Castlehaven, who was not prejudiced in favour of the native Irish, and wrote as an eyewitness, enumerates in his *Memoirs* the chief causes of the spirit of unrest which pervaded the country. First, he wrote, they are "generally looked upon as a conquered nation, seldom or never treated like natural or free-born subjects"; secondly, "that six whole counties in Ulster were

escheated to the Crown, and little or nothing restored to the natives, but a great part bestowed by King James on his countrymen"; thirdly, "that in Strafford's time the Crown laid claim also to the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Cork, with some parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow, and others"; fourthly, that "great severities were used against the Roman Catholics in England, and that both Houses (of the Irish Parliament) solicited by several petitions out of Ireland to have those of that kingdom treated with the like rigor, which," Castlehaven adds, "to a people so fond of their religion as the Irish, was no small inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to stand upon their guard"; fifthly, "that they saw how the Scots, by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained divers privileges and immunities, but got £300,000 for their visit (to England), besides £850 a day for several months together"; and lastly, "that they saw a storm draw on, and such misunderstandings daily arise between the King and Parliament as portended no less than a sudden rupture between them", and therefore they believed that "the King thus engaged, partly at home and partly with the Scotch, could not be able to suppress them so far off", but "would grant them anything they could in reason demand, at least more than otherwise they could expect".

Lord Castlehaven was not alone in holding the views thus expressed. A large number of writers on the subject expressed opinions almost identical to those given above; among them James Howell, who says that the Irish "had sundry grievances and grounds of complaint, both touching their estates and consciences, which they pretend to be far greater than those of the Scotch. For they fell to think that if the Scotch were suffered to introduce a new religion, it was reason they should not be punished in the exercise of their old, which they glory never to have altered."

Great hostility undoubtedly was shown to the Roman Catholics at this time. Petitions which tended to nothing less than the destruction of their religion, and of the lives and estates of recusants, were privately circulated among the Protestants, and were countenanced by the very men who had the government of Ireland then in their hands—the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, displaying extraordinary fanaticism, the former declaring, at a public entertainment in Dublin, that in twelve months no more Catholics should be seen in Ireland. In addition, it was reported with much confidence that the Scottish army had threatened never to lay down their arms until the Catholic religion had been suppressed, and uniformity of worship established in the three kingdoms. Sir John Clotworthy publicly declared that the conversion of the Papists in Ireland was only to be effected with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, while Pym avowed that the policy of his party was not to leave a priest alive in the land.

Such threats as these were calculated to make men think, and as the Irish are as susceptible to heat as iron, an ardent desire for liberty of speech and freedom of conscience sprang up and burned fiercely under the current of opposition which was directed against both. As we ourselves looked for, and have benefited by, timely aid sent to the Mother Country in her need by that Greater Britain beyond the seas, so Ireland, at that time, naturally sought, in her extremity, assistance from her exiled sons scattered over the face of Europe, many of whom in Spain, France, Germany, Poland, and the Low Countries had acquired great military eminence, and were able and willing of themselves to place both men and money at her disposal.

As early as 1611 Sir George Carew had foretold that the dispossessed natives of Ulster would some day rebel, that there would be a war of religion, and that the Protestant

settlers would be surprised. Unlike many others, no lying tongue had been put into the mouth of this prophet, though thirty years elapsed before his prophecy was fulfilled.

The army collected at Carrickfergus by Strafford, before his fateful journey to England, was, by the King's command, disarmed and disbanded, and by a very short-sighted policy a licence was granted to certain officers from Spain to transport 8000 foot "for the service of any prince or state at amity with us". These officers, who, though from Spain, were Irish, were Colonels John Barry, Garret Barry, John Bermingham, John Butler, Hugh Byrne, James Dillon, Richard Plunket, George Porter, and Theobald Taaffe; and they naturally seized the opportunity thus afforded them to communicate with the Irish on the Continent, offering them their own services and those of Charles's disbanded Irish forces to regain their lost inheritance.

The Irish chiefs were soon busy intriguing in Rome, Madrid, Paris, and other Continental capitals, clamouring for an invasion of Ireland, to restore Catholicity and expel the English planters from the forfeited lands. Philip III of Spain encouraged these aspirations. He had had an Irish legion under the command of Henry O'Neill, son of the fugitive Earl of Tyrone, and John, a brother of Henry's, was Colonel of an Irish regiment in the service of the Archduke in the Low Countries. From a list of *Irishmen Abroad*, compiled by that great Franciscan, Father Luke Wadding, we learn that amongst other sons of Erin in exile were Don Richardo Burke, "a man much experienced in martial affairs", and "a good inginiere". He served many years under the Spaniards in Naples and the West Indies, and was the governor of Leghorn for the Duke of Florence. There was also "Phellomy O'Neill, nephew unto old Tyrone, liveth in great respect (in Milan), and is a captaine of a troop of horse"; and James Rothe, an *alfaros*, or standard-bearer in the Spanish army, and his brother, Captain John Rothe,

"a pensioner in Naples, who carried Tyrone out of Ireland. In the Low Countries, under the Archduke: Young O'Donnel, sonne of the late traitorous earl of Tirconnel." Others are: "Owen O'Neill (Owen Roe), sergeant-major" (equivalent to the present lieutenant-colonel) "of the Irish regiment. Captain Art O'Neill, Captain Cormack O'Neill, Captain Donel O'Donel, Captain Preston."

The compiler of this very curious document proceeds to state: "There are diverse other captaines and officers of the Irish under the Archduchess (Isabella), some of whose companies are cast, and they made pensioners. Of these serving under the Archduchess there are about 100 able to command companies, and 20 fitt to be colonels. Many of them are descended of gentlemen's families and some of noblemen. These Irish soldiers and pensioners doe stay their resolutions until they see whether England makes peace or war with Spain. If peace, they have practised already with other soveraine princes, from whom they have received hopes of assistance: if war doe ensue they are confident of greater ayde. They have been long providing of arms for any attempt against Ireland, and had in readiness five or six thousand arms laid up in Antwerp for that purpose, bought out of deduction of their monthly pay, as will be proved, and it is thought they have now doubled that proportion by these means."

Early in 1641 the smouldering fires of discontent began to blaze into rebellion. The first movement is traced to Rory O'Moore, a member of the ancient family of the chiefs of Leix. He married a daughter of Sir Patrick Barnwell; and Colonel Richard Plunket, one of the nine to whom the King had given a licence to transport troops, was married to his first cousin. With O'Moore we find associated Lord Maguire, who, overwhelmed in debt, retained but a small portion of his ancient patrimony in Fermanagh; his brother, Roger Maguire; Sir Phelim O'Neill of Kinnard, fourth in

descent from John of Kinnard, or Caledon, youngest brother of Con Bacagh O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone; Turlogh O'Neill, his brother; Sir Con Magennis; Philip MacHugh O'Reilly; Colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon; Collo MacBrian MacMahon and Ever MacMahon, Vicar-general of Clogher.

The meeting of Parliament gave O'Moore an opportunity to speak to Lord Maguire, an extravagant young man of twenty-five, who, having married a Fleming, had influence in the Pale as well as in Ulster, and whose embarrassments disposed him to desperate courses. "He began", said Maguire afterwards, "to lay down the case that I was in, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again or at least a good part thereof; and, moreover, how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he said, the Parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend on it."

O'Moore, who possessed a handsome person and fascinating manners, and who was well known to be both brave and honourable, brought the Ulster men together in Dublin and visited the northern province himself. He had already, he said, ascertained that the principal Irish gentry of Leinster and Connaught were favourable to the design of taking up arms; and urged that they never would have a better opportunity of bettering their condition and recovering at least a portion of their ancient estates than during the present Scottish troubles.

In July, 1640, a cipher code had been established between Sir Phelim O'Neill, in Ulster, and Owen Roe O'Neill, in Flanders. Owen Roe was visited by Hugh MacPhelim, afterwards one of the leaders in Ireland. Sir Phelim O'Neill was one of those "Irish gentlemen" who by royal favour had been permitted to retain some portion of their ancient patrimonies. At this time he was in possession of thirty-eight town lands in the Barony of Dungannon, county

Tyrone, containing 23,000 acres, then estimated to be worth £1600 a year, equal to some £10,000 of our money. Sir Phelim might, therefore, have been content, so far as property was concerned. But, setting aside patriotism, religion, and ambition, it is most probable that he distrusted the Government and the King, and feared the doom pronounced in Dublin Castle against all of his race and creed.

About May, 1641, Nial O'Neill arrived in Ireland from Spain, bearing a message from John O'Neill to the effect that he had obtained from Cardinal Richelieu a promise of arms, ammunition, and money for Ireland when required, and bidding his friends in Ulster to hold themselves in readiness. The confederates replied that they would be prepared to rise a few days before or after 31st of October, as the opportunity offered. Scarcely had the messenger departed when tidings came that Colonel John O'Neill, titular Earl of Tyrone, had been killed in Catalonia, and Owen Roe O'Neill was immediately communicated with and adopted as leader, with Sir Phelim as chief of the sept until Owen Roe arrived.

Such were the "first beginnings" of the Rebellion of 1641.

CHAPTER II

The Bursting of the Storm-cloud

The King warns the Lords Justices of Impending Danger—Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase remain Indifferent—Sir William Cole of Enniskillen communicates his suspicions—Their lethargy continues—Hugh Oge MacMahon, grandson of Tyrone, incites Owen O'Connolly to rebel—O'Connolly apathetic—He visits MacMahon in Dublin, and is presented to Lord Maguire—The details of Plot to seize Dublin Castle are revealed to him—He informs Sir William Parsons—Steps taken to defend Dublin Castle—Proceedings in Ulster—Sir Phelim O'Neill's Proclamation—Towns and Forts seized by the Insurgents—Sufferings caused by the Rebellion.

"Kings have long ears," said King James, and his son King Charles proved the truth of the *dictum*, for he appears to have had information from his Minister in Spain of approaching rebellion amongst his subjects in Ireland, and as early as the 16th of March, 1641, His Majesty ordered the Secretary of State, Sir Henry Vane, to send notice to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, the Lords Justices, to be prepared for a possible rising. Sir William Parsons, that "driest" of all mortals, as Wentworth observed, not having noticed any premonitory symptoms of insurrection himself, did not allow this warning to disturb his aridity, and no doubt his aplomb affected his colleague, the Master of the Ordnance, for the worthy Justices contented themselves with framing "some little new law" to be observed by the citizens of Dublin, and remained oblivious of the King's injunction.

There would have been some excuse for this indifference if the message had been conveyed in ambiguous language, but

Sir Henry Vane's communication was couched in unmistakable terms; he tells the Lords Justices, "that there had passed from Spain and other parts an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the King of Spain; and that it was whispered by the friars in that kingdom, that rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland. . . ."

As the time fixed by the confederates drew near, the Lords Justices received fresh intimations of approaching danger, for, on the 11th of October, Sir William Cole, an Englishman residing at Enniskillen, sent an urgent message to inform Parsons and Borlase that there was an unusual and suspicious assembling of various Irish gentry to the house of Sir Phelim O'Neill; that Lord Maguire had lately made many private journeys, and that he had been much occupied in writing and dispatching letters all over the country; and that both Maguire and O'Neill and many of their friends had exhibited abnormal activity in levying men for the service of the King of Spain.

Even this plain indication of the trend of affairs, and the possibility that ere long, should they be found unprepared, "the wild mob's million feet" might "kick them from their place", did not awake the slumbering Lords Justices from their sleep of security to a sense of their duty to the State. Like many others, before and since, dressed with authority and deputed to guard the safety and welfare of the body-politic, they preferred to let things drift.

On the very eve of the rebellion Cole, having received more precise information about a plot to seize Dublin and other strongholds, sent at once to the Lords Justices a full account of the conspiracy, but his letter was either intercepted or suppressed. At the very moment when the chief conspirators were assembled in Dublin, making their arrangements for an attack upon the Castle, the Irish Government remained still unaware and unsuspicious of any stealthy

proceedings being in progress to undermine its power and authority.

The English forces in Ireland amounted at this time to only about 3000 foot and 900 horse, and even these were billeted in small companies all over the country, far from the capital, in which there were at the moment no soldiers. The entire garrison of Dublin Castle, in which were stored 1500 barrels of gunpowder, with matches and shot, arms for 10,000 men, and 35 pieces of ordnance, consisted of 8 aged and infirm warders, and 40 halberdiers, who formed the usual guard of the Lords Justices.

"There are flashes struck from midnights." It is at moments like this that obscure individuals, who in "piping times of peace" might have plodded their weary way through a life of dull routine, "alike unknowing and unknown", spring into lurid and unenviable notoriety. Such an individual was one Owen O'Connolly, a Protestant servant in the service of that bulwark of Puritanism, Sir John Clotworthy. O'Connolly, notwithstanding his lowly social status, must at some period have been in a better position—most probably his progenitors lost by the Plantation—for he enjoyed the friendship of Hugh Oge MacMahon, a grandson of the great Tyrone, to whom he was distantly related. Relatives are not necessarily friends.

MacMahon, however, was of a different mental calibre to his friend O'Connolly, for when he complained to Owen of the "proud and haughty carriage of one Mr. Aldridge, that was his neighbour in the county of Monaghan, who was a justice of the peace and but a vinter or tapster few years before, that he gave him not the right hand of fellowship at the assizes nor sessions, he being also in commission with him", O'Connolly, into whose soul the iron of English rule evidently had entered deeply (resulting in a broken spirit, if not a contrite heart), replied that a conquered people must submit. At such an exhibition of the spirit of the serf, the

blood of the Tyrones asserted itself, and MacMahon bid his friend to "awake, arise or be for ever fallen!" and expressed his own belief that ere long they would be delivered from the slavery that was eating into their souls; whereat no doubt O'Connolly sighed and shook his head, and gravely warned his sanguine kinsman to plot no plots, and if he knew of aught that would endanger their lives to report it, as a magistrate was in honour bound to do, to the Lords Justices, "which would redound to his great honour".

Notwithstanding O'Connolly's manifest lack of enthusiasm, MacMahon evidently valued his friendship, for while residing in Moneymore, in County Londonderry, Owen received in the closing days of October, 1641, a letter from his relative begging him to come to Conacht, in County Monaghan, as he wished to consult him on matters of importance.

O'Connolly must have known, or at least guessed, the import of such an invitation; nevertheless he immediately set out for Conacht, and finding that MacMahon had left for Dublin, he rode sixty miles on horseback, and arrived at the capital at about six o'clock on the evening of the 22nd, and was at once taken by MacMahon to see Lord Maguire, who disclosed the whole daring plot to his phlegmatic visitor.

Briefly the plan originally agreed upon was, a rising when the harvest was gathered in; a simultaneous attack upon all English fortresses; the surprising of Dublin Castle, supposed to contain arms stored by Wentworth sufficient for some 12,000 men; and the obtaining, to realize this dream, all possible aid from the Continent in officers, arms, men, and money. "And whereas", said Maguire, in a vain endeavour to kindle some spark of enthusiasm in the wary and wearied O'Connolly, "you have of long time been a slave to that Puritan, Sir John Clotworthy, I hope you shall have soon as good a man to wait upon you."

"Not to die a listener," O'Connolly, though tired by his long journey, now accepted an invitation to go with Mac-

Mahon, my Lord, and others to the sign of the *Lion* in Wine Tavern Street, where, when the waiter had been turned out of the room and the door secured, all fell on their knees and drank success to "the morrow, and the morrow's deeds", O'Connolly, in order to make others drink, assisting energetically in circulating the flowing bowl, partaking himself in no small measure of its contents. He had, however, his eye to the main chance, and, as he himself said, "finding an opportunity, this examinate leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons", whose residence was on Merchants' Quay, arriving at about nine o'clock in the evening.

Parsons, on hearing such an extraordinary story told by a very excited and evidently semi-intoxicated stranger, was not by any means convinced of the truth of the statement, and he told O'Connolly that he should require some evidence of the facts of the case before he could act; he therefore advised him to return to MacMahon's lodgings, which were near the King's Inns in Henrietta Street, and bring him some further information. O'Connolly forthwith departed; and Sir William, on reflection, and seeing that it was now getting late, determined to consult his colleague Sir John, who being a very old man was likely to retire early. He therefore repaired at once to Chichester House, in College Green, where the Irish Houses of Parliament stood later, and the Bank of Ireland stands to-day, and called on Borlase.

Borlase, on hearing the news, at once sent messengers to summon such of the Privy Council as were within reach. The Constable of the Castle had already been warned, and the Mayor had directions to apprehend all strangers. O'Connolly, having with great difficulty escaped the second time, fell into the hands of the watch, but was rescued by Parson's men. It was now very late, and only two Privy Councillors could be found, but O'Connolly's information was sworn in proper form.

This same night Sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, arrived at Dublin, finding the city gates closed and much popular agitation in the suburbs. On enquiring the cause, he was informed of the special meeting of the Privy Council at Chichester House, to which he at once repaired, and informed the Council, greatly to their relief, that during his journey across the country he had observed no signs of disturbance. The assembly, which now consisted of eight Privy Councillors, with Sir Francis Willoughby, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls, and the Vice-Treasurer, Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, sat all night and all next day in the Castle, having removed from Chichester House on the advice of Sir Francis, who considered Sir John Borlase's residence too insecure a place either for secrecy regarding their deliberations or for the safety of their persons. Willoughby was now made governor of the Castle, and set about increasing its means of defence. Owing to some 200 of the disbanded soldiers of his former regiment being in Dublin, he was able to muster a fairly strong body of experienced men, whom he armed from the stores in the Castle; and being thus secure, the Lords Justices issued a Proclamation announcing the discovery of a "most disloyal and detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil-affected Irish Papists, against the lives of the Lords Justices and Council, and many other of His Majestie's faithful subjects, universally throughout the kingdom, and for seizing not only His Majestie's Castle of Dublin, His Majestie's principal fort here, but also of the other fortifications in the kingdom". The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who being almost to a man Roman Catholics, complaining that the words "Irish Papists" in the Proclamation appeared to reflect upon their loyalty and involve them in the charge of rebellion, another Proclamation was issued on the 29th, explaining that the phrase complained of was only intended to designate "such of the old

mere Irish in the Province of Ulster as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old English of the Pale".

In the meanwhile events were developing with alarming rapidity in Ulster, where several important places were surprised and captured by the Confederates before the news of the premature discovery in Dublin could penetrate so far. Sir Phelim O'Neill himself took by stratagem the forts of Mountjoy and Charlemont, among his prisoners being Lord Caulfeild, the commander of the latter fort. He also seized Dungannon the same night, and the towns of Carrickmacross, Castleblaney, and Tandragee also fell into the hands of the insurgents; while the O'Reillys and Maguires overran Cavan and Fermanagh, and plundered, stripped, and turned out the English occupiers.

Newry was seized by Sir Conor Magennis, who distributed from its stores arms and ammunition amongst his followers, and wrote from thence on the 25th to the Government commanders of Down: "We are for our lives and liberties. . . . We desire no blood to be shed, but if you meane to shed our blood, be sure we will be as ready as you for the purpose;" and Sir Phelim O'Neill issued the following Proclamation:—

"These are to intimate and make known unto all persons whatsoever in and through the whole country, the true intent and meaning of us whose names are hereunto subscribed: That the first assembling of us is nowise intended against our Sovereign Lord the King, nor hurt of any of his subjects, either English or Scotch; but only for the defence and libertie of ourselves and the Irish natives of this kingdom. And we further declare that whatsoever hurt hitherto hath been done to any person shall be presently repaired; and we will that every person forthwith, after proclamation, make their speedy repair unto their own houses under paine of death, that no further hurt be done unto any

one under the like paine, and that this be proclaimed in all places.

"PHELIM O'NEILL.

"At Dungannon, the 23rd October, 1641."

At midnight on the Saturday on which the above Proclamation was signed, Lord Blaney arrived in Dublin with the first certain news from Ulster. His family, he said, were prisoners, while Castleblaney, Carrickmacross, and many places in Monaghan had been sacked or burned. The rebels attacked Protestants only, "leaving the English Papists untouched, as well as the Irish". In Cavan, which was attacked by Philip M'Hugh O'Reilly: "Some were killed, all stripped, some almost, others altogether naked, not respecting women and sucking infants, the Lady Butler faring herein as did others. Of these miserable creatures many perished by famine and cold, travelling naked through frost and snow, the rest recovering Dublin, where now many of them are among others, in the same distress for bread and clothes."

Dublin soon became "the daily repair of multitudes of English that came up in troops, stripped and miserably despoiled, out of the North"; and Sir John Temple, the Master of the Rolls, historian of this critical period in the history of Ireland, describes the pitiable condition of the refugees as he himself saw them:

"Many persons of good rank and quality, covered over with old raggs, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness, some reverend ministers and others that had escaped with their lives sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their husbands; mothers of their children, barbarously destroyed before their faces; poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their mothers' bosoms; some over-wearied with long travel, and so surbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready

to give up the ghost in the streets; others overwhelmed with grief, distracted with their losses, lost also their senses. Thus was the Town within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which in great numbers wandered up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common beggars, crept into private places; and some of them, that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. . . . The greatest part of the women and children thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations perished in the city of Dublin, and so great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the churchyards within the whole town were of too narrow a compass to contain them."

Such were, in the language of a contemporary, some of "the Barbarous and Inhuman Dealings of the Northern Irish Rebels".

CHAPTER III

The Horrors of Civil War

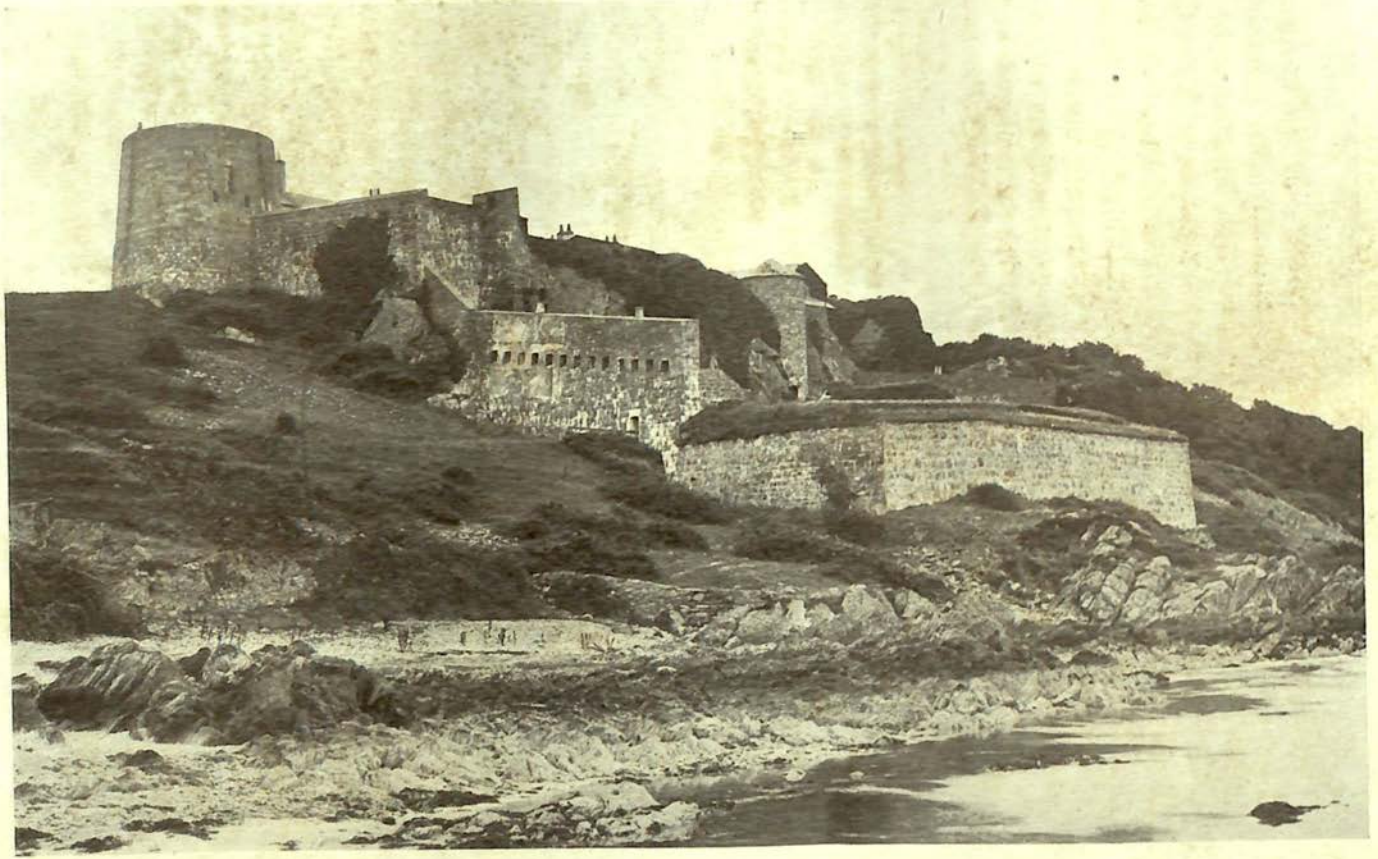
Lord Maguire and Hugh Oge MacMahon arrested and later hanged at Tyburn—Sir Phelim O'Neill forges a Royal Commission—He assumes the title of "Lord General of the Catholic Army in Ireland"—Many Murders and Massacres—Lord Castlehaven's Opinion, "They were Bloody on both Sides"—The O'Reillys' Remonstrance—Arms supplied by the Government to the Catholic Nobility of the Pale—The Irish Parliament meets—Both Houses join in a Remonstrance—The Scots in Ulster—An "Admirable" Crichton—London sends to the relief of Londonderry.

On the fateful night of Friday, the 22nd of October, 1641, the Lords Justices, having taken O'Connolly's sworn information in due form at Chichester House, immediately issued warrants for the arrest of Hugh Oge MacMahon, Lord Maguire, and their fellow-conspirators. The first-named appears to have had no suspicion of being betrayed, for at an early hour on the following morning he was captured in his lodgings in Henrietta Street; and so confident was he in the ultimate success of the plot, that when he was brought into the presence of the Lords Justices he merely remarked: "I am now in your hands, use me as you will; I am sure I shall be shortly revenged". Maguire, Fox, Plunket, O'Byrne, and O'Moore seem to have got some inkling of trouble in store for them, for they sought safety in flight, but Maguire was captured in a cock-loft in Cook Street, in which he had hidden himself, while the others escaped. Maguire and MacMahon were subsequently sent to London, where they were tried and hanged at Tyburn.

When Sir Phelim O'Neill took possession of Charlemont, he declared that he acted on the authority of a commission given him by the King. He confessed later that having found among Lord Caulfeild's papers a patent with the Great Seal attached, he had torn off the seal and attached it to a fictitious royal commission which he exhibited to his followers as a genuine document. In this instrument the King was represented as declaring to his Catholic subjects of Ireland that for the sake of his safety he had been obliged to take up his residence in Scotland; that the English Parliament had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and had assumed the government and administration of the realm; that as these "storms blew aloft", and were likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the Protestant party, he had given full power to his Catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength except those belonging to the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English Protestants within the kingdom of Ireland.

The effect produced by the report of this pseudo-commission on the Puritans of Ulster, as well as on the Irish, was so great that the Lords Justices issued a Proclamation conveying a warning against false and seditious rumours, and declaring that they had authority from the King to pursue all rebels to the uttermost extremity. That the forged commission was generally accepted as genuine even by the English is certain, the chicanery of Charles having earned for him a reputation for dishonesty of purpose so diffused that no man believed in him. When Sir Phelim O'Neill produced the pseudo-commission in public and declared at the same time that he would be a traitor if he acted of his own accord, an Englishman who was present exclaimed: "We are a sold people!" and such was the general belief.

The rebellion "was as yet an insurrection of lords and



GREENCASTLE FORT, CO. DONEGAL

Strongly garrisoned in the wars of 1641

gentlemen", says a writer on this period; "nor is there", he adds, "any reason to believe that anything more was designed by these than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favour of the Church of Rome". But Sir Phelim O'Neill was already at the head of some 30,000 men, the majority of them undisciplined and unaccustomed to bear arms. Sir Phelim himself was a civilian when he assumed the somewhat bombastic title of Lord General of the Catholic Army in Ulster. His followers could scarcely be said to be, in any sense, an army, for in addition to an utter lack of discipline they possessed antiquated arms and little ammunition, and were not even provided with pikes, for they had not had time to make them. To command such an irresponsible irregular herd of humanity was obviously impossible, especially when they were united and animated by but a single desire—a yearning for the blood of those who had, they held, for years heaped injuries and insults upon them.

Such a motley multitude, with wild passions long suppressed let loose, would be, even in the hands of men "entirely great", a weapon dangerous to the public weal. But Sir Phelim was not great; and being himself somewhat volatile and a victim to violent fits of passion, he did not possess the power to control, nor the ability to lead the irregular forces of which he undertook the command; and later he lamented the cruelties which he had either countenanced or instigated.

But it must not be thought that the Irish alone were to blame for the murders and massacres perpetrated at this period. Lord Castlehaven, who cannot be accused of being biased in favour of the Irish, has recorded his convictions in no ambiguous terms. "The truth is," he wrote, "they were very bloody on both sides, and though some will throw all on the Irish, yet 'tis well known who they were that used to give orders to their parties, sent into enemies' quarters,

to spare neither man, woman, nor child. And the leading men among the Irish have this to say for themselves, that they were all along so far from favouring any of the murderers, that not only by their agents, soon after the King's restoration, but even in their Remonstrance, presented by the Lord Viscount Gormanston and Sir Robert Talbot, on the 17th of March, 1642, the nobility and gentry of the nation desired that the murders on both sides committed should be strictly examined, and the authors of them punished, according to the utmost severity of the law; which proposal, certainly, their adversaries could never have rejected but that they were conscious to themselves of being deeper in the mire than they would have the world believe."

A Remonstrance in which some of the rebels sought to justify themselves, and signally failed to do so, was that drawn by William Bedell, the learned and lovable Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, at the request of two O'Reillys of Cavan, of whom one was a sheriff, the other a Member of Parliament. It purports to be "the remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan", and the signatories declare that the rising was caused by the fear of "captivity or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given" for such proceedings; and that "for the preventing, therefore, of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands for his highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength, as, coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom".

The Dean of Kilmore, the Very Reverend Henry Jones, was requested to convey this Remonstrance, which is dated 6th November, 1641, to Dublin, which he did much against his will, only consenting because the doing so would give him an opportunity to tell the Lords Justices how matters

stood in Cavan, "which by letters could not so safely be delivered". In Cavan there was at first less bloodshed than in the neighbouring counties, but the English, men, women, and children, were driven naked from their homes to take refuge in the woods and die of starvation. The bridge of Belturbet rivalled in notoriety that of Portadown on account of the number thrown from it to drown in the waters beneath. The massacre here is said to have been instigated by the wife of one of the O'Reillys, who, notwithstanding their Remonstrance, were now actively preparing to attack Dublin.

The rebellion spread to the other three provinces, and was not by any means confined to Ulster; and the Lords Justices, who were lamentably lacking in discrimination, and were by no means past-masters in the science of psychology, were called upon to face the ordeal of a demand made by the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale, for arms wherewith to protect their persons and their property from the depredations of the insurgents. This caused Parsons and Borlase not a little mental perturbation, for to grant the request might be to encourage hitherto loyal subjects to rebel—"how oft the sight of instruments to do ill deeds, makes ill deeds done!" On the other hand, to refuse arms to those who professed loyalty to the King and constitution might have the result of swelling the numbers of those under the banner of Sir Phelim O'Neill. The Lords Justices chose the lesser evil, and accordingly commissions carrying plenary powers were issued to several of the applicants, who were also appointed governors of counties, and authorized to have recourse to martial law when necessary.

In this way, arms out of the stores in Dublin Castle were dealt out to many noblemen and gentlemen, notably to Sir Christopher Bellew, Sir Nicholas Barnwell, Viscount Gormanston, George, Earl of Kildare, and Sir Thomas Nugent. Of these Bellew and Gormanston joined the rebels, Kildare and Nugent remained loyal, while Barnwell cleared out of

the country, to return later to assume the governorship of County Dublin.

Early in June, 1641, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant, but he declined to live in Ireland, and never came over. However, although the Lords Justices continued to act as Chief Governors, the Lord-Lieutenant could not be ignored, and accordingly the Irish Government sent him in the closing days of October a full account of the rebellion by the hand of Owen O'Connolly, who was rewarded for his loyalty with a gift of £500 and a pension of £200, "until an estate of greater value could be provided".

The Irish Parliament met in mid-November, and both Houses agreed in a protestation against all who, "contrary to their duty and loyalty to His Majesty, and against the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traitorously and rebelliously raised arms, have seized on some of His Majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed many of His Majesty's faithful subjects of their houses, lands, and goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane outrages and acts of hostility within the realm", and they pledged themselves to "take up arms and with their lives and fortunes suppress them and their attempts".

The attempts of the northern rebels were, however, insignificant in comparison with their achievements. At first they affected to spare the Scots, hoping by their forbearance to induce them to join in the rebellion; but when the Irish leaders found not only that the Irish Scots remained loyal, but that the Scots were prepared to oppose them, their resentment against the Scots exceeded, if possible, their hatred of the English, and the Ulster Scots were, in consequence, subjected to most diabolical cruelty, modes of torture being practised upon them in comparison with which the inventions of the Inquisition and the methods of the red-

Indian or of the mandarin sink into insignificance and may be contemplated with composure. As the details of these are far from delectable, the reader may safely be referred for particulars to contemporary documents which give sufficient evidence on the subject to satisfy the most incredulous.

As ill invariably keeps echoing ill, the Scots retaliated by showing little mercy to the Irish whenever they fell into their hands. Of this instance of the carrying out of the law of retaliation, one example may suffice. A small peninsula called Island Magee, near the town of Carrickfergus, was inhabited by some Irish families, some members of whom had in its earlier stages identified themselves with the rebels. A body of Scottish soldiers being garrisoned in Carrickfergus awaited a fitting opportunity, and taking advantage of a dark night in January, 1642, sallied forth and, falling unawares upon these Irish Roman Catholics who had been quiescent for some months, put the greater part, if not the whole of them, to the sword. According to the confession of the perpetrators of this deed, thirty families were surprised in their beds and deliberately put to death.

There is, however, a pleasanter side to the picture. Sir Phelim O'Neill's mother distinguished herself by sheltering four-and-twenty English and Scots under her roof, and preserving them uninjured throughout the troublous times. Her son, Sir Phelim's step-brother, imitated her noble example and conveyed many of the English Protestants in safety from Armagh to Newry and Drogheda. The Rev. George Crichton, a Scotsman as his name suggests, vicar of Lurgan, was told by Captain Tirlogh MacShane Mac-Philip O'Reilly that the Irish would harm no Scot; he added that directions had been received from His Majesty "to do all these things to curb the Parliament of England; for all the Catholics in England should have been compelled to go to Church; or else they should be all hanged before their own doors". Crichton, who lived at Virginia,

lodged refugees in his house, and provided many with food and clothing. He told his wife, when she urged upon him the wisdom of flight, that "in this trouble God had called them to do Him that service", and continued to tend the wounded and give milk to the children until the fugitives ceased to call upon him.

Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, member for the county Cavan, was the chosen leader of the Irish. Crichton no doubt owed his life, and the lives of his wife and children, to the fact that he was a Scot, for he discovered that Philip MacHugh's mother was an Argyle, "of which house it seemeth that she was well pleased that she was descended. This kindred stood me in great stead afterwards, for although it was far off and old, yet it bound the hands of the ruder sort from shedding my blood." Thus this Admirable Crichton escaped scot-free, thanks to his courage, nationality, and diplomacy.

Londonderry remained the bulwark of the north, Sir Phelim's attempts to take it having failed signally. The city of London now sent four ships to its relief with provisions, clothing, accoutrements for several companies of foot, and much ammunition.

CHAPTER IV

The Fortunes of War

Parliament's Provisions for Ireland — Continued Lethargy of the Lords Justices — Their Weak-kneed Government drives many into Rebellion — Sir Phelim O'Neill prepares to invest Drogheda—Six Hundred Raw Recruits sent with Roper to the Relief of Drogheda—Five Hundred slain in a Fog at Julianstown—The Lords Justices summon Sir Charles Coote to Dublin—Cruel Conduct of Coote—Lisburn attacked and burned to the Ground by Sir Phelim O'Neill—Lord Gormanston calls a County Meeting at Crofty Hill—The Northern Chiefs appear and the Rival Parties amalgamate.

Ireland had been specially entrusted to Parliament by the King, and during the whole of November, 1641, the English House of Commons devoted a portion of each day to careful consideration of the subject, and how best to deal with the situation, with regard to which doleful reports were frequently forwarded by the Lords Justices. Having resolved that £50,000 should immediately be borrowed from the city of London, for which full security should be given, orders were passed that £20,000 should be sent over to Ireland without delay, that ships should be sent to guard the coasts, that a force of 6000 foot and 2000 horse should be raised and sent to Dublin, that provisions should be at once collected and sent to the relief of the city and its garrison, and that the arms and ammunition then lying in the magazine at Carlisle should be transported to Carrickfergus. It was further resolved that negotiations should be opened with the Scots for a force of 2000 foot to be landed in Ulster.

Further communications being received from the Lords Justices and Council in Dublin, giving details of fresh

successes of the rebels in Ulster, the capture of Dundalk, and the danger of Drogheda, the perils with which Dublin was threatened, and stating that unless at least 10,000 foot and 1000 horse were immediately sent over, Ireland was in danger of being utterly lost, and the peace of England herself threatened, the Commons resolved to comply in full with the wishes of the Irish Government, which included a petition for £100,000 to enable them to carry on the war. The estimate for Ireland was raised to £200,000, and Leicester, as Lord-Lieutenant, was authorized to raise 3500 foot and 600 horse; while arms were provided for a further levy.

While the Parliament in England thus acted with commendable celerity and decision, the movements of the Irish Government were marked by its ancient lack of energy. The Earl of Ormonde having been appointed Lieutenant-General, he urged upon the Lords Justices the necessity for prompt measures, and proposed to march at once with all the troops that could be spared from Dublin against the main body of the rebels, then in the County Louth, and composed largely of an undisciplined rabble. This the Lords Justices would not permit Ormonde to do, alleging that they lacked arms with which to supply the troops. At the same time it must be remembered that the Pale was disaffected, and that in Dublin there were but 3000 foot and 200 horse, and that the capital was surrounded by armed bands, who had already made food scarce, and who threatened to cut off the water supply. A large area had to be defended, and many of the citizens were not to be trusted.

Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase were now themselves eyed with suspicion. "To be weak is to be miserable", and weak and miserable the Lords Justices undoubtedly were. Letting we dare not, wait upon we will, they acted with a timidity highly reprehensible in those who are called upon to lead; and the distrust and disdain with which they treated the lords and gentlemen of the Pale who

were not yet involved in any disloyalty led many to conclude that their conduct was purposely calculated to drive the Catholic landed gentry into rebellion. Castlehaven declares that "they were often heard to say that the more were in rebellion, the more lands should be forfeited to them", a statement which has led to the association of the names of the Lords Justices with that of a company of adventurers formed in London at this time, who calculated on the confiscation of ten millions of acres in Ireland as soon as the work of reduction should be completed.

The actions of the Lords Justices affected the whole country. As soon as it was announced that men and money were being sent from England to their succour, they concealed their natural cowardice under a mask of arrogance, and demanded from the Catholic lords of the Pale the return of the arms with which they had entrusted them, thus leaving them without means of defence. By this demand they created enemies for themselves and the Government, and only succeeded in getting back 950 out of the 1700 arms they had given.

This step was followed by several other measures equally unpopular and unwise. A proclamation was issued commanding all persons not citizens of Dublin to leave the city within twenty-four hours, on pain of death. The reason given for this measure was, that landholders, by flying to the capital for protection, had left their lands undefended; but the effect produced by it was that numbers on finding themselves thus denied protection in Dublin, sought it by joining the rebels, and thus swelled their ranks. The Irish Government also suppressed, or rendered ineffective by their exceptions and qualifications, the order of the English Parliament to offer a general pardon to all rebels who tendered their submission within a given time, a measure which could hardly have failed at that moment to produce most beneficial effects; and the object of the Lords Justices in this suppres-

sion is patent enough when it is seen that in the few counties least affected by the rebellion, where the pardon was offered, it was combined with a general exception of the freeholders. This fact, and Castlehaven's statement, prove that the Lords Justices looked for a rich harvest of forfeited lands.

The feeling thus produced in Dublin by these errors of judgment on the part of the Government greatly encouraged the northern Irish, who now marched towards Droghedâ under the command of Sir Phelim O'Neill. On the 24th of November they took Lord Moore's mansion at Mellifont, being incited to do so by his offering the Government to raise, clothe, pay, and command 600 men until money came from England. The foot-soldiers who attempted to defend Mellifont were put to the sword, but the mounted men escaped to Drogheda. The women were stripped, and the place plundered.

The approach of the rebel forces of Ulster towards the south was already producing its effect on the wavering allegiance of the Pale; nevertheless the Lords Justices adopted no efficient measures of defence. Before the end of November the insurgent army had established its quarters on the northern banks of the Boyne, and preparations were being made to invest Drogheda, from which the Lords Justices now received a pressing dispatch for aid from Sir Henry Tichborne.

Qualified men were scarce, but 600 raw recruits were sent under a young commander, Major Roper, to reinforce Tichborne, and Sir Patrick Wemyss, with fifty horse of Ormonde's troop, accompanied them. The short journey could easily have been made in a day, but the new levies were ill disciplined and mutinous, and insisted on proceeding by easy stages. On the second day they had only reached Balrotheray. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 29th of November Roper halted at Lord Gormanston's, and learned that the Irish had crossed the Boyne to intercept him, and he was told to move with the greatest caution. Roper, with the

carelessness of youth, did not even trouble to warn his officers, and the march was continued in loose order. A thick November fog shrouded Julianstown bridge, over which the inexperienced and undiscerning 600 marched into a valley of death, in which awaited their coming a greatly superior and better-armed force under the command of Hugh O'Byrne, Rory O'Moore, and Philip MacHugh O'Reilly. The fight in the fog was sharp and decisive; and when it lifted, the sun shone on the complete Irish force, "who did not lose a man", and on nearly 500 corpses of Roper's raw recruits, Roper himself, with two captains and 100 men, reaching Drogheda shortly after the arrival of Wemyss. Ormonde expressed much surprise on hearing of this defeat. "The men", he said, "were unexercised, but had as many arms, I think, within a few, as all the rebels in the kingdom, and were as well trained as they"; but the fog accounts for much, and also the presence in the ranks of the insurgents of many of Strafford's disbanded army. This success gave fresh confidence and courage to the rebels, who levied contributions on the surrounding districts, causing thereby no slight alarm to the Government, while the arming of the Irish with the dead soldiers' weapons added not a little to the terror of the loyalists.

In their extremity the Lords Justices summoned Sir Charles Coote—who had been dispatched against insurgents in Wicklow on the very day of the defeat at Julianstown—to return to guard the capital. Coote was a marvellous mixture of courage, courteousness, and cruelty. On one occasion he invited a bumpkin to blow down the barrel of his pistol, and, on the yokel's acquiescing, Coote in the act blew out his brains. He lost his own life later by charging at the head of seventeen men at some thousands of the enemy. In Wicklow, Coote's troopers murdered and massacred to their hearts' content with the approval of their commander, who, on seeing infants impaled on their pikes, frankly declared

that "he liked such frolics". Neither age nor sex was spared, and priests were usually shot on sight, no close time for ecclesiastics being recognized by Coote. Fathers Higgins and White of Naas were thus given up by Sir Charles to the tender mercies of his troopers, although the priests had been each granted a safe-conduct to Dublin by his superior officer, Lord Ormonde, who complained of this barbarity.

On his return to Dublin Coote's conduct was highly approved of by the Lords Justices, who appointed him Governor of Dublin; but the Catholic lords accused him of having uttered a threat at the council board "tending to a purpose and resolution to execute upon those of our religion a general massacre". "The character of the man", says Curry, "was such, that this report, whether true or not, was easily credited." "All this while," Castlehaven tells us, "parties were sent out by the Lords Justices and Council from Dublin, and most garrisons throughout the kingdom, to kill and destroy the rebels; but the officers and soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places, promiscuously, men, women, and children; which procedure not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties upon the English, but frightened the nobility and gentry about; who, seeing the harmless country people, without respect to age or sex, thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatened as favorers of the rebellion, for paying the contributions they could not possibly refuse, resolved to stand upon their guard."

Carrickfergus, Chichester's old stronghold, was filled with the Protestants of Down and Antrim; but Sir Phelim O'Neill recognized the fact that if he hoped to take Carrickfergus he must begin with Belfast and Lisburn, and accordingly he directed Sir Con Magennis to attack the latter, which he did at the head of several thousand men equipped with their newly-acquired arms and also with two field-pieces taken at

Newry in the initial stages of the rebellion. The sole strength of Lisburn consisted of Lord Conway's troop, commanded by Sir Arthur Tyringham, ex-governor of Newry. Fighting was kept up in the streets, which were so slippery with frozen snow that the shoes of the horses had to be frosted, which being done, the cavalry gained a great advantage over the infantry, whose "brogues" slipped from under their wearers and laid them on their backs at the mercy of the foe. Chichester sent gunpowder from Belfast, and followed it up with a troop of horse and a company of foot, with the result that the Irish were completely discomfited, and set fire to the town, of which "every corner was filled with carcases". "The slain were found to be thrice the number of those that fought against them." Lisburn was burned to the ground. Next day the rebels burned the residence at Brookhill of Sir George Rawdon, who had only returned from Scotland the evening before.

Early in December, Lord Gormanston, who appears to have been for some time in secret communication with Rory O'Moore, issued an order to the Sheriff of Meath to assemble the principal inhabitants of the county at Duleek, but the place of meeting was subsequently changed to Crofty Hill, about three miles to the south of Drogheda. Among those who attended this meeting were the Earl of Fingall and Lords Dunsany, Louth, Netterville, Slane, and Gormanston. When the meeting had grown in dimensions to about 1000, the number was largely augmented by the sudden appearance of a party of the insurgent chiefs from Ulster, consisting of Rory O'Moore, Philip MacHugh O'Reilly, Hugh O'Byrne, Colonel MacMahon, Hugh Boy O'Reilly, and Captain Fox, who rode up "in the head of a guard of musketeers, whom the defeat at the bridge of Julianstown had furnished with arms".

As the Irish chiefs approached the hill, the principals, by whom they were evidently expected, pressed forward to

meet them, and Gormanston asked "for what reason they came armed into the Pale", and O'Moore, in a speech which had plainly been prepared, replied that "the ground of their coming thither and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of His Majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects of this kingdom as free as those of England"; and he added much to the effect that he and those with him had been goaded into action by penal laws which excluded them from the public service and from educational advantages, for, said he, "there can be no greater mark of servitude than that our children cannot come to speak Latin without renouncing their spiritual dependence on the Roman Church, nor ourselves be preferred to any advantageous employment, without forfeiting our souls". Finally he complained that while their primary motive had been to maintain the King's prerogative, the Ulster chiefs had been denounced by the Lords Justices as rebels; he therefore called upon all true sons of Ireland to join the common cause.

Gormanston, as prearranged, now demanded "whether these were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise whether they had not some other private ends of their own"; and on receiving a solemn declaration of their sincerity and wholehearted devotion to the ends to which they had pledged themselves, he cried aloud: "Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise join with you therein"—a sentiment which was received with loud applause by all present. "And thus", said a probable eyewitness, "distrust, aversion, force, and fear united the two parties which since the conquest had at all times been most opposite, and it being first publicly declared that they would repute all such enemies as did not assist them in their ways, they appointed a second meeting of the county at the hill of Tara."

CHAPTER V

The Triumphs of Tichborne

The Lords Justices summon the Catholic Lords to a Council Meeting—The Lords refuse to attend—The Companies raised by them desert, taking their Arms with them—Sir Simon Harcourt lands with a Large Force—Drogheda besieged by Sir Phelim—A Party of Irish break in, but are defeated and ejected—Lord Moore defeats the Irish at Mellifont—Art Roe MacMahon taken Prisoner—His Life spared in consideration of Lady Blaney—Ormonde marches to Drogheda —Tichborne takes Dundalk—General Robert Munro arrives with 2500 Scots—He sweeps all before him.

The coalition of peers and people at the meeting on Crofty Hill was no doubt hastened by a summons issued on the 3rd of December by the Lords Justices, calling upon several of the noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale to attend in Dublin on the 8th to confer on the state of the nation. Suspecting that this was only an artifice to draw them into the capital in order to secure their persons and deprive them of their liberty, a response to the summons was drawn up and signed by seven peers at the meeting at Tara, in which reference is made to the indifference with which their warnings and advice had been received. "We have given your lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented ourselves before your lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to suspect that our loyalty was suspected by you." The writers then referred to the rumours regarding the hostility of Sir Charles Coote to the Catholics. "We give your lordships further to understand that we have received certain advertizement that Sir

Charles Coote, Knight, at the Council board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution to execute upon those of our religion a general massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatened evils or the safety of our lives, but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers and resolute furtherers of His Majesty's service concerning the present state of the kingdom and the safety thereof to our best abilities."

The Lords Justices replied to this letter by a proclamation, in which they declared that there was no truth whatever in the allegations made regarding Sir Charles Coote, or that there was any intention to prosecute the Catholics, and that anyone who made any such suggestion should be severely punished; and they again summoned the lords of the Pale to attend at the Council board on the 17th of December. Ormonde personally gave his word of honour that they should return safely, and urged them not to lose this last opportunity of proving their loyalty. The only reply was a letter in which the disaffected lords reiterated their accusations of cruelty against Coote, and sent a final refusal to attend the meeting of the Council in Dublin.

The immediate consequence of these proceedings was the desertion of most of the companies which the gentlemen of the Pale had been commissioned to raise, "several gentlemen, who, in the several counties of the Pale, were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels", and "before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their arms and munition". Immediately after the meeting at Tara the lords

of the Pale began to get together the means of resistance. Lord Gormanston was appointed General-in-Chief; Hugh Byrne, Lieutenant-General; and Lord Fingall, General of the Horse. On the 31st of December Sir Simon Harcourt, long and anxiously expected, landed with 1100 men. Three hundred more followed quickly, and Colonel George Monck, with Leicester's own regiment, was not far behind. Sir Richard Grenville came with 400 horse about the same time. It was fortunate that during this period the northern rebels lay wasting their strength before Drogheda, for had they marched to Dublin after their success at Julianstown, the capital would undoubtedly have fallen into their hands; but it was a noted characteristic of the Irish, from the days of Shane O'Neill to those of Sir Phelim, that they never followed up a victory.

Drogheda, though surrounded by the forces of Sir Phelim O'Neill, still held out under Sir Henry Tichborne. On St. Thomas's Eve (20th December) a determined effort was made to take the town by storm, but the rebels were beaten off with considerable slaughter. Tichborne sent a pinnace to Dublin for help. In answer to this appeal six vessels arrived with provisions and ammunition for the garrison, who were half-starved, and notwithstanding efforts made to obstruct their passage up the river, the ships overcame them, and succeeded in landing their cargoes in safety.

Thinking that both officers and men would be too busy attending to gastronomic delights to pay strict attention to means of defence, the besiegers attempted to take the town by surprise. Finding a weak spot in the wall, they broke open with pickaxes a passage through which they crept, two or three at a time, to the number of some 500; but they were discovered at about four in the morning by Tichborne himself, who immediately gave the alarm, and, turning out the nearest guard, bade them fire across the river. An accident contributed not a little to the confusion of the rebels. Tich-

borne's horse, which was being led by a groom, broke loose, and, galloping wildly about the town, led the Irish to believe, from the clatter of its hoofs, that cavalry were approaching. This decided many to beat a hasty retreat through the passage by which they had entered. The rest fought, and were for the most part killed. Outside St. James's Gate large numbers awaited admittance by their comrades. They were admitted by Tichborne's men, who, to induce them to enter unsuspectingly, made an Irish bagpiper whom they had taken earlier in the morning play lively airs. Once inside the gate their fate was sealed.

Besiegers and besieged now indulged in a series of attempts to harass each other. On the 11th of February Tichborne obtained a signal advantage in an engagement with a large body of the rebels. At four o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 21st, O'Neill, after his army had been considerably reinforced, attempted an escalade at a quiet spot near St. Laurence's Gate. The assailants had planted their ladders, and reached the top of the walls, but, the sentries being on the alert, the rebels were discomfited and fled, leaving thirteen ladders behind them. These successes encouraged the garrison to make further sallies. On the 27th, while protecting his foragers, Tichborne defeated the rebels on the fatal field of Julianstown, when 300 of the Irish were killed. The foraging parties from Drogheda now ranged to a distance over the country, and on 1st March four companies of foot and a troop of horse met with some resistance. Tichborne, hearing of this, determined to go himself, and in the afternoon met the Irish advancing from the hamlet of Stameen under the command of Sir Phelim. The Irish fled on the approach of horse, and O'Neill only escaped capture by hiding in a furze bush.

On 5th March 500 men, under Lord Moore, marched to Mellifont, followed by Sir Henry Tichborne with a reserve force. Moore attacked the rebels, leaving 400 men and many

officers dead on the field. The prisoners made on this occasion included Art Roe MacMahon, whose head, for which a reward of £400 was offered, would have been cut off, but that he prayed for mercy, offering to ensure the safety of Lady Blaney and her children if his life was spared. His offer was accepted. Ormonde was now marching from Dublin at the head of 3000 foot and 500 horse, a fact which decided Sir Phelim to raise the siege of Drogheda, if siege it can be called, and he retired north precipitately.

The Lords Justices had worried Tichborne with orders not to venture farther abroad "than so as he might return the same day", and, these continuing, Tichborne remonstrated with such good effect that he was able to record: "I was left again to my own way of proceeding, with a grave and sound advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings". In much the same manner as they had treated Tichborne, Parsons and Borlase proceeded to deal with Ormonde, giving him orders not to go beyond the Boyne and to return in eight days. Having arrived at Drogheda, Ormonde, on learning from Tichborne and his officers the state of affairs there, asked the Lords Justices for permission to proceed to Newry, which was peremptorily refused; but he was allowed to give Tichborne 500 men and one or two guns to aid him in a proposed attack on Dundalk, which being done, Ormonde was forced to comply with orders and returned to Dublin.

The rebels, as much surprised at Ormonde's departure as they had been at his sudden advance, recovered their courage, and, collecting their forces, again threatened Drogheda. But Sir Henry Tichborne, feeling the freedom of being left to his own discretion, and reinforced with the men Ormonde left him, dislodged the Irish from Slane and burnt the town. On the 21st of March he set out for Ardee with 1200 foot, four troops of horse, and provisions for two days. Here he found 2000 Irish posted in a good position on the right bank of the Dee. He drove them over the bridge into the town, in which

some 600 of them were slain, and, turning their position by fording the river with his cavalry, he pursued them into the open country with great slaughter. He then turned his attention to Dundalk, and, with the approval of Lord Moore and the other officers, he suddenly presented himself before that town at nine o'clock in the morning of the 26th of April. He approached the outer gate and forced it under a heavy fire. Sir Phelim and his horse now opposed him, but finding the wind was in his favour Sir Henry ordered some houses to be fired, and under cover of the smoke reached the inner gate of the town. Seeing that resistance was useless, O'Neill and his men beat a hasty retreat through the north gate over the bridge, and left the town in the hands of the victors.

When the day was won, Tichborne tells us he "caused the quartermasters to divide the town into quarters, proportionable to the companies of horse and foot; and what booty was in any quarter, that I left to the officers and soldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the confusion about pillaging was taken away, and I had the soldiers in a readiness to answer the rebels' motion and attempts, who rumoured great words, and still swarmed very thick in those parts. The number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little mercy shown. . . ."

The Lords Justices, on hearing of Tichborne's success, were by no means elated thereat, and in a grandmotherly manner wrote stating that they considered he had "engaged into too imminent danger", and sent him "advice to abandon the place". This extraordinary attitude on the part of the Government can only be accounted for by the fact that Borlase was suffering from senile stupidity, and that Parsons, who was a man of mean extraction, and had little or no education, devoted his whole attention to the acquisition of wealth. He clearly saw that the more rebels there were the more lands there would be to confiscate, and thereby he could gratify his cupidity. Tichborne, however, with noble inde-

pendence, rejected the advice given him, and finding, as he said, "the town to be of importance for the service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do so, except I received a positive command and direction to that purpose; for I was confident to hold it against all the rebels' forces that durst appear before it; besides, I conceived the ten thousand Scots would not be idle when they should hear that I was advanced so far northward, with a handful of men in comparison with their numbers". Sir Henry here refers to the fact that early in November the English Parliament had, as already stated, resolved to send 12,000 men from England, and to ask the Scots to send 10,000 more, the arrival of the latter being now expected daily.

Tichborne did well to ignore the advice of the Lords Justices, for the Irish soon returned to Dundalk, and appeared in such imposing numbers that they kept Sir Henry and his men in a state of continual activity. On one occasion he "took Toby Guinne, an especial favourite of Sir Phelim O'Neill, prisoner; this man", Tichborne tells us, "had been bred amongst us, and married to an Englishman's daughter, but now a degenerated, active, and notorious rebel; in which respect, notwithstanding many promises of large ransom or exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the sight of Sir Phelim O'Neill and his battalions". On the arrival of the Scots in April, the Irish fired and deserted Carlingford, whereupon Sir Henry marched along the strand and took possession of the town.

The long-looked-for expeditionary force of the Scots was under the command of Major-General Robert Munro, and consisted of about 2500 men, who landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th of April. The King had hesitated in giving up the town to the Scottish regiments, but on the Commissioners expressing a hope that His Majesty, "being their native king, would not show less trust in them than their neighbouring nation", their hope was fulfilled, and it was agreed if any

troops joined the Scots, the Scots general was to command them also. It is well that this was so, for Munro was not the man to brook opposition, as anyone familiar with his idiosyncrasies as displayed by Sir Walter Scott in the form of *Dugald Dalgetty*, for whom he served as a lay figure, will readily admit. The Scots occupying Carrickfergus, Lord Conway and Colonel Chichester retired with their regiments to Belfast.

On the 28th April Munro marched towards Newry, leaving a garrison behind him, and joining forces with Lord Conway, Sir James Turner, and the rest he had under his command, in all nearly 4000 men. At Enniskillen the next day the Irish, under Lord Iveagh, fled into Kilwarlin Woods at his approach. On the 30th, Dromore was razed to the ground, nothing being left standing save the church. A garrison in an island at Loughbrickland were put to the sword, no quarter being given. At Newry no attempt at defence was made, and on the 3rd of May the garrison were permitted to march out weaponless; but Munro, to Sir James Turner's disgust, on second thoughts, deeming mercy a mistake, on the following day hanged sixty townsmen. Leaving a garrison at Newry, and making a circuit of County Down, Munro on the 12th May returned to Carrickfergus.

"Sir Phelim O'Neill and his partizans," Tichborne tells us, "grew very jolly upon the Scots' return, and persuaded themselves of doing great matters against me, but their courage proved to be only in words, for I drew forth for some days together into a convenient field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake their strength to draw into equality of ground, notwithstanding their advantage of numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every morning into their quarters, and continued these visitations for several weeks together, with the slaughter of very many

of them, especially the new plantation in the county of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Harry O'Neill's house in the Fews; insomuch that by this course, and the like acted often by the garrison of Drogheda, there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk, nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrick-ma-cross, a strong pile twelve miles distant."

Sir Henry Tichborne, during his stay, carefully repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Dundalk, and thus placed a very important town, which the Lords Justices in their folly had advised him to desert, in an efficient state of defence.

CHAPTER VI

The Scots Army in Ulster

Ulster filled with Troops—Sir Phelim burns Armagh—"Colkitto" MacDonnell—The Rebellion dying out—Revived by Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill—The Nature of the War—Independence of the Scots—Expeditions of the English—Lord Leven arrives with Reinforcements—Thomas Preston lands in the South with Men and Arms—Leven's Ineffective Correspondence—He leaves Munro in command and returns to Scotland—O'Neill's Camp surprised—Lord Moore killed—A Cessation of Hostilities.

Ulster now was filled with troops. By the end of April there were 19,000 regulars and volunteers in garrison or in the field. Newry having been taken by Munro, and Dundalk by Tichborne, Magennis was obliged to abandon Down, and MacMahon Monaghan. Sir William Cole, who was the first to apprise the Government of the approaching danger, held Enniskillen throughout, while Captain Ffolliott held Ballyshannon. Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, at the head of a daily increasing army, held undisputed sway over a wide stretch of country comprising the major portions of Counties Tyrone and Donegal. Londonderry and Coleraine also held their own, while Manor Hamilton, in the hands of Sir Frederick Hamilton, was in safe keeping.

Sir Phelim O'Neill, in desperation at the approach of the Scots, burned Armagh, "the cathedral with its steeple and with its bells, organ, and glass windows, and the whole city, with the fine library". In a severe action with Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, notwithstanding the fact that both were professional soldiers, O'Neill was more fortunate than

usual, a fact which perhaps may be attributed to the presence on the occasion of Sir Alexander MacColl MacDonnell, the famous *Colkitto* of the Irish and Scottish wars, who was considered by the Earl of Leven to be one of the most formidable leaders of the Irish.

In an engagement in June with the same antagonists Sir Phelim suffered a severe reverse, his followers being put to flight with a loss of 500 slain, many wounded, and a large number of prisoners. The English in Ulster urged upon Munro the policy of following up this victory, and asked for assistance to that end; but the Scottish general refused aid, and the English, provoked thereby, attempted to carry on the war without Scottish help. But orders came from the Earl of Leven putting a stop to all proceedings until he should appear on the scene of action himself; and, it having been arranged when the treaty with the Scots was concluded that Scottish generals were to have sole conduct of the war, there was an immediate cessation of hostilities.

The rebellion in Ulster had almost collapsed before the end of the year. The thousands who had rallied round the standard of Sir Phelim O'Neill were gradually reduced to a number of weak and disorganized bands of armed men seeking refuge in the woods. The English garrisons scoured the surrounding country, meeting with little opposition; where they did meet it they gave no quarter. Sir William Cole of Enniskillen stated that some 7000 of the rebels in his immediate neighbourhood had died from want and exposure.

The ill success which continued to dog the steps of the insurgents must largely be attributed to the fact that they were without a leader to whom the profession of arms was familiar. Sir Phelim O'Neill was not lacking in courage, but the science of warfare as well as personal valour is needed in the field, and O'Neill was ignorant of the very rudiments of all that is required in a military commander. As a leader he was a failure, for he possessed neither the requisite know-

ledge of tactics nor the personal magnetism which makes men blindly follow their leader even "into the mouth of hell", and wildly fling themselves into the arms of death until—

> The foeman's line is broke,
> And all the war is rolled in smoke.

In July, when Munro began to show some signs of activity and a renewal of hostilities was expected, a council of the Irish confederates was held, at which it was proposed to abandon a hopeless cause, and seek refuge on the Continent or in the Scottish Highlands. But at this moment, when the national cause seemed to be lost, when the Celtic population in Ulster was meditating wholesale emigration, "a word of magic effect was whispered from the sea-coast to the interior" —Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill had arrived off Donegal with a single ship, a single company of veterans, 100 officers, some arms, and a large quantity of ammunition. The flagging hopes of the Irish rose once more.

Owen MacArt, better known as Owen Roe O'Neill, was a son of Art MacBaron, and therefore a nephew of Hugh O'Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone. In Luke Wadding's list, compiled about 1639, his name appears as "Art O'Neill", with the rank of captain, which he held in Henry O'Neill's Irish regiment. After the flight of the Earls he was present when Tyrone and his son Henry met at Douai. In 1633 he appears to have been colonel of the regiment. On the death of John O'Neill, titular Earl of Tyrone, in July, 1640, a cipher code was established between Sir Phelim in Ulster and Owen Roe in Flanders, the latter expressing his sympathy with Sir Phelim's projects and holding out hopes of aid from Cardinal Richelieu. When he heard of O'Connolly's having become informer "he was in a great rage", "and he said he wondered how or where that villain should live, for if he were in Ireland, sure they would pull him in pieces

there; and if he lived in England there were footmen and other Irishmen enough to kill him".

Owen Roe O'Neill landed at Doe Castle, on the northern shores of Donegal, on 31st of July, 1642, and sent his ship, with two others he had captured at sea, back to Flanders for reinforcements. Sir Phelim, with 1500 men, went to receive his kinsman, who proceeded by Ballyshannon to Charlemont, meeting with no opposition on the way. A general meeting of the heads of the various clans was held at Clones, at which Sir Phelim resigned the command of the Catholic army of Ulster, and was "nominated President of Ulster", Owen Roe being elected general-in-chief of the Catholic forces. He at once set about organizing an army. Possessed of a high sense of honour, and being inured to the strict discipline of the soldier, the defender of Arras expressed the strongest disapprobation of the retaliatory cruelties which had been tolerated by Sir Phelim, and even said he was determined that such offenders against the laws of humanity should be punished. He then hastened, with the assistance of the experienced officers who had accompanied him to Ulster, to strengthen the fort of Charlemont.

The nature of the war, and the spirit in which it was conducted, may be inferred from the nature of the weapons distributed from the military stores in Dublin. These included scythes, reaping-hooks, and whetstones. These were to be used to cut down the growing corn so that the populace might be starved into submission or forced into leaving the country. The commissary of stores was instructed to issue Bibles to the troops, a Bible to each file, so that they might read therein and learn from the conduct of wars in the Old Testament the sin and danger of sparing idolaters. Such were the methods of the Long Parliament, who, unwilling to trust the King with an army in Ireland, took the work of subjugation into their own hands.

The Scots in Ulster were at this time a sort of independent

power, equally opposed to the King and to the Catholics. Left to their own resources by the English Parliament, which was now busy circumventing the policy of Charles, they plundered both parties, and "wasted Down and Antrim more than the rebels had done". Munro, during "the leafy month of June", marched and countermarched, filled with a grim desire to devastate the province; and as he neared them, the flying Irish, to protect themselves and secure their cattle, crossed the Bann, "burning the country all along". With the Scottish general were Lords Conway and Montgomery, their joint forces amounting to close on 5000 men. With the aid of Conway's cavalry 300 cows were captured. When they arrived at Kinard, where Sir Phelim had a house "built of freestone and strong enough to have kept out all the force", it was discovered that O'Neill had gone to Charlemont, and his followers—who "for haste did not kill any prisoners"—ran away; 200 prisoners in miserable plight were then released and the house was fired. The only person captured seems to have been a priest, "a prime councillor to Sir Phelim O'Neill", who "would not confess or discover anything", and who, though he as "Chanter of Armagh" had often used his voice to good purpose, suffered in silence and was hanged. Carts loaded with plate belonging to Sir Phelim, which were ready to proceed to their destination, were stopped, and the silver was sequestered, there proving to be a goodly quantity of it; and in a private trunk was found a crown, with which insignia the ambitious chieftain had provided himself, no doubt with a view to being prepared for his own installation as Prince of Ulster.

Sir William Brownlow, aided by other prisoners in Dungannon, having overcome the rebel guard "with the help of some Irish that formerly had relation to them", the town was taken and garrisoned. A week later Sir John Clotworthy set out on a cow-catching expedition with 600 foot. The lean and limber-limbed cattle, accustomed to being driven rapidly

out of harm's way by their owners, were by no means easy to capture; but, there being a host of human beings to feed, including 500 rescued prisoners, wits were sharpened by hunger, and the device adopted of sending 200 men, relieved of all armour and clad like berserkers in their shirts, after the bovine quarry, with the result that near Moneymore 100 cows were captured, after which there was better cheer, and the countryside was swept for a radius of twelve miles from the fort of Mountjoy.

In August arrived the long-expected complement of Scottish forces under Lord Leven, with which the whole army in Ulster, both Scottish and English, under the new commander amounted to 20,000 foot and 1000 horse—an army against which the Irish confederates could not hope to contend. Simultaneously with Leven's arrival in the north of Ireland there landed in the south, in Wexford, Colonel Thomas Preston, a nephew of Lord Gormanston. Preston had been a captain in the same regiment as Owen Roe O'Neill, but had always been his rival; he had had on the Continent a remarkable military career, distinguishing himself at the siege of Louvain, and he was now nearly sixty years of age. At Wexford he awaited some vessels from St. Malo, Nantes, and Rochelle, laden with arms and ammunition, and, having seen their cargoes safely landed and securely stored, he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was unanimously elected by the confederates to the military command of Leinster.

Leven now drew together his forces, crossed the Bann, and entered Tyrone. There he encamped without meeting with any serious opposition, and he commenced proceedings by addressing a letter to Owen Roe, in which he expressed his concern "that a man" of his "reputation should be engaged in so bad a cause". O'Neill replied that he had a better right to come to the relief of his country than Leven could plead for marching into England against his King, and added: "I charitably advise you to abandon this kingdom

and defend your native country". At the conclusion of this fruitless correspondence the Scottish commander retired quietly, giving up the command to Munro, and, having warned him to expect a total overthrow if O'Neill should succeed in collecting an army, he returned to Scotland, having practically achieved nothing.

The General Assembly projected by the national synod of the 10th of May met in Kilkenny on the 24th of October, 1642, the day after the battle of Edgehill. "Magna Charta and the common laws of England, in all points not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were", says Carte, "acknowledged as the basis of the new government;" "and as the administrative authority was to be vested in the Supreme Council, it was agreed that at the end of every general assembly the Supreme Council should be confirmed or changed as the general body thought fit". The Supreme Council having been chosen, Lord Mountgarret was elected its first president, and it began the exercise of its executive powers by appointing Owen Roe O'Neill general of the forces in Ulster, Thomas Preston being appointed in a like capacity for Leinster, General Barry for Munster, and John Burke as lieutenant-general for Connaught, the chief command in that province being reserved for the Earl of Clanrickard, in the hope that he might eventually join the confederation. Lord Castlehaven was given the command of the Leinster horse under Preston.

Munro in the meanwhile remained inactive, and, the civil war in England having broken out, the English and Scottish forces in Ireland were neglected, and being left without supplies of any kind they were soon obliged to struggle during the winter with the miseries of semi-nudity and hunger, while O'Neill continued to collect a formidable army without interference. The rebels in Ulster could impute the extraordinary inactivity of the Scots to no other cause save cowardice, and accordingly their self-confidence was again in the ascendant.

Military supplies and men poured into the country, many Irish officers and veteran soldiers being discharged by Richelieu from the French army in order to enable them to serve in the rebel army in Ireland, and O'Neill was thus enabled to raise and equip a force of about 1500 men.

In May, 1643, O'Neill was attacked by Munro near Charlemont; but although the Scot had the superior force, there was little or no result from this passage of arms, although Munro himself fought on foot, calling to his men in a vain endeavour to hearten them: "Fay, fay, run away from a wheen rebels." Another attack on O'Neill made a little later was equally unsuccessful, as were also all endeavours to capture the Irish leader, shouts on the field of "Whar's MacArt?" meeting with no response, although MacArt was in the thick of the fight, and had a very narrow escape. In July, however, O'Neill met with a serious reverse near Clones at the hands of Sir Robert Stewart, when he lost 150 men. A month later his camp at Boyle was surprised by a small English force, and about 160 men were killed and wounded. This result was achieved by treachery, the sentries having been induced to drink by Irish sutlers, who procured the intoxicants from garrisons in the immediate vicinity.

The Ulster commander was now ordered by the Supreme Council to support Sir James Dillon in Meath. He obeyed by collecting some 3000 men, with whom he marched across Cavan to Portlester. Having taken the castle, O'Neill defended the passage across the Boyne against Lord Moore, who was at the head of superior forces, laying the cannon himself by which Moore was killed. Hostilities were then abandoned and a cessation of arms agreed to.

CHAPTER VII

King Charles and the Confederates

Power of Confederates attracts Charles—The King seeks a Cessation of Arms—The Roman Catholics petition the King—Royal Commission granted—Sir William Parsons superseded—Sir Henry Tichborne appointed Lord Justice with Borlase—Sir Henry Tichborne's Account of the Conduct of the War in Cavan—The Confederates demand a Free Parliament—Sufferings of the Army from Scarcity of Money—No Help forthcoming from England—Tichborne tries to raise Money, but fails—Renewed Activities of the Rebels—Munro, although requested to help the Royalists, refuses to act—Treaty with the Confederates signed and ratified.

The very power of the confederates now became the root of their misfortunes. It led the King to desire to come to terms with them, not from any intention to do them justice, but with the hope of deriving assistance from them in his difficulties; and it exposed them to assaults of diplomatic craft and fomentation of internal schism, in which Charles was a past-master, and which led to their ultimate disintegration. For some time Parsons and Borlase, seeing that they clashed with their own designs, contrived to counteract the King's movements. Any amicable arrangement made by the Crown with the Irish would have frustrated all their hopes of plunder, and that they entertained such hopes is proved by a private letter addressed to the Speaker of the English Commons by the Lords Justices as early as the 11th of May, 1642, in which they beg the Commons to assist them with a grant "of some competent proportion of the rebels' lands", which had recently been confiscated to the extent of two and a half millions of Irish acres.

SIR WILLIAM PARSONS

From an engraving by S. Paul

The delays caused by the cupidity of the Lords Justices provoked the King, to whom delays were dangerous, and who was in no mood to be trifled with. In July a petition to the King from the nobility and gentry assembled in Kilkenny had been sent to Ormonde to be forwarded to His Majesty, with the significant intimation that if he failed to transmit the document he would be held "guilty of all the evils that may ensue". Ormonde, as in duty bound, first submitted it to the Lords Justices and Council, who agreed to forward a copy of the petition, provided they added thereto marginal notes of their own. To this Ormonde agreed; but the Lords Justices, acting on their old policy of never do to-day what can be put off till to-morrow, delayed so long that Ormonde in disgust sent the original petition to the King, "being well assured that His Majesty's judgment is not to be surprised with any colours these rebels can cast upon their foul disloyalty". Charles, although he had made up his mind to treat with the Irish, neglected to respond to this petition, no doubt being preoccupied with his English Parliament, and in December petitions addressed to both Charles and Henrietta Maria were sent by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who begged that a deputation might be permitted to wait upon Their Majesties, in order that their grievances might be made known to both.

In response to this petition a Royal Commission dated 11th of January, 1643, was issued to the (now) Marquis of Ormonde, the Earl of Clanrickard, the Earl of Roscommon, Lord Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke to receive propositions from the confederates to be transmitted for His Majesty's consideration, the King at the same time writing to Ormonde: "We have not thought fit to admit any of them to our presence, who have been actors or abettors in so odious a rebellion". On the 17th March, St. Patrick's Day, a conference took place at Trim, in which a remonstrance was presented to Clanrickard (Ormonde being

absent in the field), in which, amongst other complaints, Sir William Parsons was cited as one of the most flagrant examples of those who had employed their high offices to enrich themselves at the expense of the Roman Catholics. The immediate result of the complaints was that the King superseded Parsons, and on the 12th of May, 1643, appointed as Lord Justice in his stead Sir Henry Tichborne, the able and energetic governor of Drogheda.

Before we lose sight of Tichborne the commander in Tichborne the Lord Justice we may here give an extract from his account of the irregular and desultory hostilities of this period, which throws not a little light on their character. "In March", writes Sir Henry, "the Marquis of Ormonde led the army, with the flower of the garrison of Drogheda and other adjacent garrisons, towards Ross; and I receiving intelligence that the rebels intended to send off their northern forces, to assist their party in those quarters against the Marquis of Ormonde, I moved the Lord Moore to draw the best strength he could conveniently from Dundalk (of which town Lord Moore now had the command); and sending for those that might be spared from Trim, I met them at Kells, the appointed rendezvous, with a party from Drogheda, where we made in all eleven hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse.

"At Kells we took a few prisoners that were not aware of their danger, and amongst them one Plunkett, a popish archdeacon. Part of their Cavan forces were then near us, and sent a drummer pretending to treat an exchange or ransom of the archdeacon. The drummer, as is the custom of such fellows, spoke much of the strength and valour of the Cavan men; and I, that I might make a little use of his errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our strength and intention, than to redeem the prisoners, told him that I thought to have gone through Westmeath toward the county of Longford; but since he

spoke so much of the number and courage of the Cavan forces near me, I would turn my course that way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for fear of their power and ability to resist me. The drummer appearing to be perplexed, because his boasting was likely to bring inconvenience upon his country, not formerly intended; wherefore, I said further, (for I knew it would have wings when it came amongst them), that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrified) lodge that night in the county of Cavan, it not being two miles out of my way into the county of Longford. And after we were all in a readiness to march, I dismissed the drummer, cheerful in the apprehension that he had discovered so much of my purpose.

"That night we went eight miles into the county of Cavan, saw many rebels, but they knew their distance; yet at Lough Ramor, in an island, we lighted on the Earl of Fingall's two children, thirty case of new pistols, with other goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence. That night, about one of the clock, the moon shining, we set forth towards the Cavan, came thither seasonably the next day, and unexpected, the rebels being secure on their drummer's report that I intended another way. The town was soon abandoned, and every man shifted for himself.

"The next day the rebels were gotten together, and fought with us at Ballyhays; afterwards at a bridge within three miles of Belturbet. We routed them at both places in one day, took two captains, and several other prisoners, besides many of their soldiers, and some remarkable men slain by us. We freed divers English that were in restraint among them, and killed a rebel as he was firing a house where there were ten English shut up ready to be burnt. I staid two days entire in those parts, burnt Ballyhays, the Cavan, and other places, and then returned with a great prey, which served much to the relief of our several garrisons, in those days of exceeding wants and great extremities."

The King had during the spring and summer continued in private communications to press Ormonde with regard to a cessation of arms, full discretionary powers having been granted him for this purpose. It was necessary, Ormonde thought, for the King's honour, in a transaction of such a nature, that the first overtures for peace should come from the rebels; he therefore instructed his agents in Kilkenny to induce the confederates to renew the negotiations. The majority of the rebels, however, still clung to their demand for a free Parliament (in which, of course, they would be the principal factors), and they still refused to acknowledge that which sat in Dublin as a legal assembly. Matters continued to be discussed all through the summer, and the state to which the Government in Ireland was reduced by these prolonged and tedious negotiations cannot be better given than in Tichborne's words.

"Finding", said the newly appointed Lord Justice, "the army in the highest extremity of want, all ways and means already sought and run through for their support, even to the seizing the native commodities of the kingdom; hides, tallow, and such like, taken from ship-board after the customs paid, and exposed to sale; I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir John Borlase, His Majesty's other Justice, and myself, with the Council, daily assembled: we spent the whole time in sending complaints into England, both to King and Parliament; in the meantime borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole Board for money and all sorts of victual and commodities convertible to the soldiers' relief.

"Amidst these extremities His Majesty's letter came over, signifying His Majesty's sorrow and disability to relieve us, in regard of the troubles in England. All men's eyes were on the Parliament, but no succours in those times arriving from thence to support the forces, His Majesty permitted a treaty to be had with the Irish, touching a cessation of arms, in case all other helps were failing; which was generally

so disagreeing to the Board, that most of them desired to run any fortune and extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it.

"And, truly, I was so much of that opinion, that when the Marquis of Ormonde made offer, that if he might be advanced ten thousand pounds, part victuals, part shoes and stockings, and part money, he would immediately draw towards the rebels, and either compel them to run the hazard of the field, or to forsake their quarters and leave them to the spoil of our soldiers, which might prove to them a future subsistence; and when Theodore Scout, and the rest of the merchants of Dublin, had refused to advance the money upon the security of all the lands of the whole board, and the Customs of Dublin, for the interest of the money; I moved the Board, there being at that time one-and-twenty Councillors present, and myself the meanest of fortune amongst them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar means and credit, would procure three hundred pounds, which amongst us all would raise six thousand three hundred pounds. For even with that sum, and such means as the Marquis of Ormonde could procure himself, he offered to undertake the work, and that there should be no further mention of a cessation amongst us.

"But this motion of mine finding no place, the cessation in a short time began to be treated on, and was in sincerity of heart as much hindered and delayed by me as was in my power; for I believed it would be hurtful to the public, and therefore I cast in rubs to lengthen the treaty, expecting daily relief and money from England, whither Sir Thomas Wharton was employed with the sad stories of the public miseries."

Having a full knowledge of the distress to which the Government was reduced, the Irish naturally took advantage of it. Preston overran a large portion of Leinster, extending the field of his operations almost to the gates of the capital.

Castlehaven took several forts in Queen's County and Carlow, and Owen Roe O'Neill crossed the Boyne and captured several castles and forts. "Whereupon," says Tichborne, "understanding that Munro with a flourishing army of Scots, was in the county of Armagh, and in three days' march might be brought to our assistance, I moved the Board to write unto him, to advance his forces and join with us against the common enemy. And because the message might be the better accepted, Colonel Crawford was employed unto him with the aforesaid letter, and particular advice and persuasion from myself to hasten his coming.

"How Colonel Crawford acquitted himself in the discharge of his trust, will best appear by Munro's answer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord Moore his voluntary readiness to join with us, but now invited, and that by a power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the Marquis of Ormonde had not signed the letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed by Colonel Crawford that the Marquis of Ormonde was absent upon the treaty, and that the letter could not in convenience of time be transmitted unto him, returned, and sent, with expectation of that speedy remedy we were necessarily to receive by it."

Ormonde now determined to try conclusions with Preston in the field, and, collecting 5000 men, he retook Edenderry and other strong places, but failed to bring his opponent to an engagement, and, owing to scarcity of provisions for so large a force, was obliged to return to Dublin. The King now determined to obtain a cessation on any terms, but in order to do so he had to persuade or intimidate those of the Puritan party who opposed his wishes. With this view he ordered, on the 1st of August, the arrest of Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, Sir R. Meredith, Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Temple, the Master of the Rolls, whom he accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, and accordingly they

were committed to custody in Dublin Castle, with the exception of Parsons, who pleaded illness.

These being effectually removed, Ormonde had a free hand, and he received from the King a commission under the Great Seal of Ireland, granting him plenary powers to treat for a cessation of arms for twelve months, to which was added an indemnification from all trouble or danger to him and all who should assist him in this transaction.

Other means were employed, no less reprehensible, to bring about the result desired by Charles. "The expectation of victual and relief from England", says Tichborne, "stopped the hasty progress of the cessation until the evening, as I take it, of the eleventh or twelfth of September, when a fleet of ships was discovered near the harbour, to the great joy of all honest hearts; but the next morning, one Captain Dauske, that was come in with the fleet of provisions, and had landed the night before, returned early on shipboard, hoisted sail, forsook the harbour, and compelled seventeen barks laden with necessaries from Liverpool and other places, to do the like. On what ground or intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so rare and unlooked-for accident amazed all men, put the soldiers into a mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and, in my apprehension, a very dishonourable cessation to be concluded with the rebels, with very much dislike of most of those that were actors in the treaty."

Finally, on the 15th of September, 1643, a cessation of arms for one year was signed in Ormonde's tent at Sigginstown, near Naas, the Commissioners of the Federation being Lord Muskerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Nicholas Plunkett, Sir R. Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwell, Turlogh O'Neill, Geoffrey Brown, Heber Magennis, and John Walsh. The Commissioners throughout the proceedings remained uncovered, and Ormonde, as the Royal Commissioner, alone wore his plumed headgear. On the 16th the instrument was signed by

which the Confederates undertook to pay the King £30,800, half in money, payable in instalments, and half in cattle. The treaty, which resigned to the King the coast line from Dublin to Belfast, and Carrickfergus to Munro, was immediately ratified by the Lords Justices and Council, and notified to the whole kingdom by royal proclamation.

CHAPTER VIII

Castlehaven's Invasion of Ulster

Ormonde appointed Lord-Lieutenant—A Day of Deputations—Activities of the Marquis of Antrim—The Covenant wins its Way in Ulster—Munro secures Supreme Command of all English and Scottish Forces in Ulster—He anticipates Insubordination and secures Belfast—Owen Roe O'Neill repairs to the Supreme Council—He asks for Aid to hold his Command in Ulster—Assistance given by the Confederates—Castlehaven appointed Commander of the Forces—O'Neill's Disappointment—Castlehaven invades Ulster, but achieves nothing—He attributes his Failure to O'Neill's failing to keep faith with him.

In August, 1642, Charles had made Ormonde a marquis; the King now appointed him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and on the 21st of January, 1644, he was sworn into office.

In the closing days of March a deputation from the Supreme Council of the Confederates waited on the King at Oxford and presented a statement of their grievances. They prayed for a repeal of the penal laws under which they suffered, but they obtained nothing more than empty assurances of His Majesty's intentions, the utmost extent of which was, that he was willing to remove from them any incapacity to purchase lands or hold offices, and to allow them to have their own seminaries for the education of their sons.

A counter-demonstration was made on the 17th of April by the Protestants, who, headed by Sir Charles Coote, the younger, requested that His Majesty should "encourage and enable Protestants to replant the Kingdom, and cause a good walled town to be built in every county for their security, no Papist being allowed to dwell therein"; and

they further prayed His Majesty "to continue the penal laws, and to dissolve, forthwith, the assumed power of the confederates; to banish all Popish priests out of Ireland, and that no Popish recusant should be allowed to sit or vote in Parliament". The Council in Dublin followed this by sending Archbishop Ussher, Sir Henry Tichborne, and other Commissioners to the bewildered King, with instructions to Coote to withdraw his proposals and submit a less revolutionary scheme, whereby all that was requested of His Majesty was "that all the penal laws should be enforced, and that all Papists should be disarmed".

Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, a restless being who had already approached Charles with strange schemes, in which, when attempted, he had egregiously failed, was again employed by the King, no doubt through the influence of the Queen, to act for His Majesty in a private capacity, all public business passing as usual through Ormonde's hands.

Antrim, who had been treacherously seized and placed under arrest by Munro, had made his escape to England, and now proposed to raise in Ireland forces to be placed at the disposal of Montrose in Scotland; but no sooner did he land in Ulster than he was again seized by Munro, who imprisoned him in Carrickfergus Castle for some months. Escaping again, Antrim sought refuge with Owen Roe O'Neill, and was given by the Irish general a safe-conduct to Kilkenny. At the head-quarters of the Confederates he was received with open arms, was requested to join them, and was offered a command. These offers he refused, but he encouraged the Irish leaders to believe that he took a deep interest in their cause.

Soon after the cessation in December, 1643, Antrim went again to England and persuaded Charles that he had great influence with the Confederates, and offered to place 10,000 men at the disposal of the King, and to send 3000 more to

Scotland to combat Argyll and the Covenanters. Henrietta Maria's influence again prevailed, and Antrim was given a commission to command such forces as he might succeed in raising for the King; and in recognition of his zeal in the royal service he was created a marquis. On his again visiting the Confederates he was astonished, when he demanded 10,000 men, "well armed, to be transported to England with all possible expedition" for the service of the King, to meet with a firm refusal; and on his moderating his request to that of 3000 men for Scotland, he was told he could only obtain permission to raise them in his own clan or sept, and that arms and ammunition for his levies would only be granted on his securing from the Government a convenient port in Ulster for their reception. It was further decided by the Confederates that the port thus acquired should be under a commander of whom they were to have the nomination. In the end Antrim succeeded in sending 2000 men to Scotland under Alexander MacColl MacDonald, better known as Colkitto, to fight under Montrose.

The sentiment against the cessation was strongest in Ulster, where the English party was at this time most powerful, and where the Protestant army was chiefly composed of men who, having suffered at their hands, bitterly hated the Roman Catholics. There was naturally more sympathy between Protestant Ulster and the Puritan English Parliament than between the Parliament and the other provinces, which were, as both Houses declared in their proclamation against the cessation, full of "furious bloodthirsty Papists". To Ulster, therefore, was sent by the Parliament Owen O'Connolly, now a captain, bearing letters to the colonels of the army in Ulster recommending them to disclaim the cessation and to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and promising them a speedy discharge of their arrears and full provisions for the future. The officers were by no means eager, but many of the English soldiers

embraced the Covenant with ardour; and when, on account of urgent directions from the Government in Dublin, the officers caused the proclamation against it to be read, the soldiers who had taken it refused obedience and set their officers at defiance. The growing spirit of Ulster became evident when Sir Audley Mervyn, who owed his appointment as Governor of Londonderry to the zeal with which he had assailed the Covenant, had no sooner taken office than he himself embraced the very principles he had hitherto attacked and took the Covenant. He was not alone in this, for a deputation of Presbyterian ministers, being sent over by the Scottish General Assembly, landed at Carrickfergus at the beginning of April and induced many to take the Covenant, among those who did being Sir Frederick Hamilton, Sir William Cole, Sir Robert Stewart, and Munro, who immediately embraced the Covenant with all his officers and men.

The power of the Covenanters in Scotland was now so great that they were able to send Munro £10,000 and a supply of clothing and provisions. The zeal of the Scots in Ulster was now intensified, and all attempts of the Government at Dublin to check the spirit which had arisen in the north were fruitless. Munro, who with his officers had taken the Covenant with becoming solemnity in the church at Carrickfergus, at first professed to leave the convictions of others to the admonitions and persuasions of the Presbyterians, and possibly he might have continued thus passive; but at the end of April, having secured from Parliament the full command of both English and Scottish forces in Ulster, with an injunction to carry on the war against all the enemies of the Covenant, he immediately began to be aggressive.

The colonels of the English regiments met at Belfast on the 13th May to determine as to the degree of obedience they should give to the Scottish Commander; but Munro, having received intelligence of their design, marched suddenly to Belfast, and the gate, on his appearance, being opened by

the friendly commander of the guard, he marched unopposed through the town and seized all the cannon. Having secured Belfast, Munro marched on Lisburn, but there he found the English officers prepared. Trouble between the English and Scots in Ulster seemed imminent, but an amicable agreement was come to that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and to the laws of Ireland, and that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions and have the same privileges and appointments as those enjoyed by the Scottish. On these conditions they joined Munro in vigorously carrying on the war against the Irish rebels, regardless of the cessation, reserving only to themselves the right of acting upon their own convictions in case of a direct order from the King to the contrary. Munro thus succeeded in getting all the Protestant troops in Ulster to serve under him. By the end of June he had mobilized at Armagh some 10,000 foot and 1000 horse.

Munro's contemptuous disregard for the cessation alarmed the Confederates, who recognized that O'Neill's army in Ulster was insufficient to resist with success the combined forces of Scots and English in the north. This opinion was shared by O'Neill, who, "leaving his troops and creaghts to shift the best they could, came to the General Assembly, then held at Waterford, where he held forth the lamentable condition of his people, desiring the assistance of the other three Provinces, and in the name of his Province, undertaking to join to their forces 4000 foot and 400 horse; but withal declaring, that otherwise he with his forces and creaghts should be obliged to save themselves in the other Provinces, and so get subsistence as well as they could".

The Council now promised to assist O'Neill by sending 6000 foot and 600 horse against Munro, but the old story of lack of co-operation amongst the Irish was repeated, for when the choice of a commander came to be considered,

"contrary to O'Neill's expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he should be generalissimo", Castlehaven was chosen, which O'Neill naturally "took greatly to heart". "However," says Castlehaven, "he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate me, giving withal great assurances of his performance and readiness to serve me."

Castlehaven's campaign in Ulster resulted in nothing. He himself maintained that it kept the other three provinces "from being troubled either with Scots or Ulster people that year", but the lack of cohesion between the Leinster and the Ulster men served to make the invasion of Ulster by the forces of the Confederates a failure. There seems to have been, despite O'Neill's protestations of friendship, no genuine support given by him to Castletown, who was as ignorant of the natural conditions of the country into which he led his forces as were the British commanders in the initial stages of the war in South Africa of the region they had to traverse.

Castlehaven complains, in his account of the campaign, of the want of discipline in the forces he was called upon to command, the men having grown rusty during the time of comparative peace, "never seeing an officer till the next campaign", and therefore appearing when called upon "like new men half-charged; and for the horse, so haggled out in riding up and down to see their friends, that they seemed hardly able to draw their legs after them; and both horse and foot with rusty arms, and not fixed". Making the most of such an army, which no doubt was an Irish equivalent of Falstaff's ragged regiment, the Irish commander marched, as ordered by the Supreme Council, "first into Connaught to reduce some of our own party, which had set up for themselves in the county of Mayo". He passed the Shannon with 2000 men, and quickly reduced these to obedience, and then, leaving the command to Sir James

Dillon, he went to Kilkenny and set himself "to the great work, still having some mistrust of O'Neill's performance" of his promise to supply 4000 foot and 400 horse.

"The first rendezvous", Castlehaven tells us, "that I made in order to this field, was 1644, about midsummer, in the county of Longford, at a place called Granard, where I had appointed 3000 horse and foot, with two or three field pieces, intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army; for O'Neill was near encamped at Portlester, and the rest were marching as ordered." Only half his forces, however, had arrived when Munro's approach was announced. Munro advanced as far as Carlanstown Castle, which he burned; but finding that Castlehaven and O'Neill had joined forces, and finding his provisions running out, he again marched north.

"Now, then," says Castlehaven, "I was at leisure to call on General O'Neill for his 4000 foot and 400 horse, being resolved to follow the enemy, and try my fortune in Ulster, as I was designed to do. He excused himself by reason of the continual alarms in his country, that he could not at present make good his word; but withal, assuring me again, that so soon as I came into the Province, I should have no reason to complain. Having this assurance, I marched on with my 6000 foot and 1000 horse and dragoons; and O'Neill joined to me about 200 horse and 300 or 400 foot; his creaghts [herdsmen] marching with us, being all the Irish with their cattle of that Province.

"When he had drawn me on as far as Toinregoat [Tanderagee], I had intelligence that the enemy had revictualled themselves, and were returning to encounter me. Whereupon I pressed O'Neill very hard to make good his word; who plainly told me that he could not do it, alleging that his people were all amongst the creaghts, and everyone looking to save what he had."

Castlehaven then resolved to discover the whereabouts of

the enemy himself, and, leaving O'Neill in command of the camp, he pushed on with 1000 horse and dragoons and 1500 foot, being led by guides supplied by O'Neill. At Drummore Iveagh he came upon Munro's quarters at sunrise, and some skirmishing ensued in which Castlehaven himself took part, but with no result, "the enemy at last drew off and so did I to my army".

O'Neill, on hearing that Munro was advancing, advised a retreat to Charlemont, to which Castlehaven agreed, encamping his horse at Benburb, the Scottish general fortifying himself at Armagh, "thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in pretty good correspondence; and the small war we had was chiefly in cutting off convoys". During August and September little or nothing was done. One skirmish resulted in the taking of Captain Blair, and the killing of 100 Scots; in another, three of O'Neill's officers fell, which aroused O'Neill's ire, and he accused Colonel Ffennell of Castlehaven's horse of callously or cravenly looking on, making no attempt to save them or to avenge their death. When Castlehaven, tired of inactivity, returned to his own province, having achieved nothing "through the failing or something else of General Owen O'Neill", the Ulster leader went to Kilkenny and demanded an enquiry, repeating his remarks regarding Ffennell's failure to assist when help was needed, and drawing the attention of the Council to "a gentleman I see here, Lieutenant-Colonel Ffennell, with the feather, a cowardly cock, for seeing my kinsmen overpowered by the enemy, some of them hacked before his face, and a strong brigade of horse under his command, and never offered to relieve them". If O'Neill's request was acceded to, and an enquiry held, no record of it is extant.

During the three months in which Castlehaven and his troops were in Ulster, ostensibly to scare or to conquer the Scots, but succeeding in doing neither, the English garrisons maintained a commendable neutrality, and kept, to the very

letter, the articles of cessation. No doubt this restraint was not endured without intense uneasiness, for inactivity to a soldier is most irksome, but nevertheless the Irish army was allowed to pass through the purely English districts without molestation. So strictly was the spirit of neutrality observed that Sir Henry Tichborne, on resigning the position of Lord Justice on Ormonde's becoming Lord-Lieutenant, and returning to Drogheda, was accused of not giving needed assistance to the army of Munro.

Tichborne defended himself, and in his defence threw some light on the situation: "When the Scotch forces advanced into Westmeath," he said, "returned by our quarters, and lodged at Atherdee, though they professed themselves opposite to our party, and had proffered some acts of hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder provision to be sent unto them, as some snarlers at all my actions have untruly suggested; but the truth is, they abounded in all provisions, and staid at Atherdee but one night, insomuch that the drink and other necessaries, that several persons of Drogheda had provided, could not come time enough for them as desired.

"About eight or ten days after that the Scotch army," states Tichborne, "the Earl of Castlehaven and Owen Roe O'Neill, with all the Irish strength, came unto Atherdee, and remained in those parts, as I remember, about fourteen days; and during the time of their abode, they required the benefit of the market, for the buying of such provisions as were needful for them, and that the town and garrison might spare; which demand agreeing with the article of the cessation, could not be in reason absolutely denied by me, except I would draw their united forces on Drogheda, the garrison being weak and unable to oppose them. And this was a thing that was proposed amongst them by Owen Roe O'Neill, as I was informed. However, I cast in many rubs, and found several ways to delay their desire of commerce, until, at last, the Earl of Castlehaven sent his lieutenant-general to understand

the reason of my backwardness, and to expostulate the matter with me at large; and then, indeed, I had direction from Dublin to grant them their desire; whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman Geves, the present mayor of the town, and told him, in the presence of the lieutenant-general, that the articles of the cessation afforded free traffic for either party; and that a provident care being, in the first place, taken for the necessities of the town, the benefit of the market might be granted unto those that were without; and the lieutenant-general might appoint some one of the inhabitants of the town to buy such provisions for the use of the Irish army as could conveniently be spared. Whereupon he named one Dardis, who came unto me to know whether he might with safety, and without future blame, be employed by them, and I told him he might; for I was not willing that any of them should lodge in the town, or frequent our markets. The provision that they had was most drink. Of a hundred and sixty barrels of wheat bought for their use, I caused the moiety to be stopped. Some oatmeal they had, and coarse bread of beans and peas was carried forth by private persons to be sold unto them." All of which serves to prove the exact position of parties at the moment.

CHAPTER IX

Glamorgan and the Great Seal

The Chicanery of Charles—His Secret Commission to Glamorgan—He begs Ormonde to secure Peace—Glamorgan and the Confederates—Rinuccini the Nuncio—Charles pens a Letter to the Pope—Glamorgan's Letter to the King discovered on the Battlefield of Naseby—The Nuncio in November enters Kilkenny—The Glamorgan Treaty found on Dead Archbishop—The Ormonde Peace signed—Deplorable State of Ulster.

The winter of 1644 was one of complicated intrigues, for Charles, painfully perplexed by the difficulties with which he had to contend in England, and nervously apprehensive of approaching danger, looked anxiously towards the only quarter from which he could expect aid, to Ireland and the support of his Roman Catholic subjects; and as he appears never to have been in his element save in an atmosphere charged with secretiveness, hypocrisy, and falsehood, he now sought an agent on whom he could rely to scatter broadcast, without any qualms of conscience, royal promises never meant to be fulfilled. Such an emissary (Ormonde having proved too captious for the wholesale dissemination of falsehood under the guise of truth) the King found in Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, who was devotedly attached to the royal cause, to which father and son had already conjointly contributed some £200,000. Charles, in gratitude, which in the King was a lively sense of favours to come, created Lord Herbert Earl of Glamorgan —a creation which, owing to the troublous times, was never formally made—and on the 1st of April, 1644, granted him

under the Great Seal by far the most extraordinary patent that has ever been issued bearing that august symbol.

By this document Glamorgan was created Lord Paramount of Ireland, with supreme command over all forces in the island. He was constituted admiral over a purely imaginary fleet, and authorized to pledge customs, woods, wardships, and all hereditary property of the Crown. As a kind of peripatetic irresponsible vendor of titles he was liberally supplied "with several patents under our Great Seal of England, from a Marquis to a Baronet, which we give you full power and authority to date and dispose of without knowing our further pleasure"; and it was hoped that on a promise of the bestowal of one of these titles "persons of generosity" would freely subscribe cash to replenish the royal coffers.

Thus armed with almost royal powers, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland, Charles promising "on the word of a King and a Christian" to ratify any acts for which the Earl was responsible, thereby ignoring the powers of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant, although a verbal promise was given by Glamorgan to the King that in all matters he would consult with the Viceroy.

Having thus secretly given Glamorgan more ample powers than were possessed by the Lord-Lieutenant, and having constituted him his confidential agent in Ireland, Charles recommenced to pester Ormonde with further proposals for peace, promising in connection with the Roman Catholics that "the penal statutes should not be put into execution, the peace being made and they remaining in their due obedience. And further that when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppressing of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a law. But all those against appeals to Rome and *Præmunire* must stand." He begged Ormonde "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost", and later directed him to "make the best

bargain he could". Even after Naseby the King, with astonishing assurance, wrote: "If within two months you could send me a considerable assistance, I am confident that both my last loss would be soon forgotten, and likewise it may (by the grace of God) put such a turn to my affairs, as to make me in a far better condition before winter than I have been at any time since the rebellion began". The peace was to be concluded forthwith, and Ormonde, having thus settled matters in Ireland, was to repair to England with as large a force as he could collect to the aid of the King.

The most sober-minded of mortals must admit that Fate or Fortune is occasionally ironical, otherwise it is impossible to account for such strange freaks in human affairs as those which decreed that a hemisphere discovered by Columbus should be called after one Amerigo Vespucci, a pickle-dealer of Seville, and that the Great Seal of England should on April Fools' Day be attached to such a perfectly fatuous instrument as the patent granted to Glamorgan. On that document, although it is expressly stated that "for your greater honour and in testimony of our reality we have *with our own hand* affixed our Great Seal of England unto these our commission and letters, making them patents", it is believed that the affixing of the Seal was undertaken by Endymion Porter and the Earl himself, "rollers and no screw press" being employed in the work. The genuineness of the patent is, however, unquestionable; and proud in the consciousness of possessing the confidence of his King, by whom he had been promised the dukedom of Somerset, with power to "put on the George and blue dragon" at his pleasure, and to bear the garter in his coat of arms, Glamorgan, on reaching Dublin in August, 1645, had a conference with Ormonde, after which he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he explained to the Supreme Council the powers with which he had been invested.

It is necessary here, for the complete comprehension of subsequent events in Ulster, to follow for a while the trend of events in the south of Ireland, where the Confederates were engaged in arranging the terms of a treaty with Glamorgan while they awaited with impatience the arrival of a Papal Nuncio.

By the treaty entered into by Glamorgan on behalf of the King, and Lords Mountgarret and Muskerry on behalf of the Confederation, it was agreed that the Roman Catholics should enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion; that they should hold for their use all the churches of Ireland not at the moment in the actual possession of the Protestants; that they should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy; and that neither the Lord-Lieutenant nor any other person should have power to disturb them in these privileges. The Confederates, on their side, undertook to send to England under Glamorgan's command, for the service of the King, 10,000 men, one-half that number to be armed with pikes, the remainder with muskets. As these concessions had to be, on account of Charles's position, kept secret, Glamorgan swore to tell the King everything, and "not to permit the army entrusted to his charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from His Majesty and by His Majesty be performed".

All these proceedings took place behind Ormonde's back, the Lord-Lieutenant, in blissful ignorance, continuing, in accordance with the King's oft-expressed desire, to negotiate with the Confederates as to the terms of the proposed peace; while Charles, to further complicate matters, on hearing of the approaching visit of Rinuccini, the Pope's Nuncio-Extraordinary, wrote to Glamorgan enclosing letters, one of which was addressed to the newly-elected Pope, His Holiness Innocent X, the other to the Nuncio, both to be delivered to Rinuccini on his arrival.

In his letter to the Nuncio the King, having penned a

panegyric on Glamorgan, who was a Roman Catholic, and having promised to ratify any agreement at which His Majesty's agent and the Pope's legate should arrive, concludes the epistle, which is written in French ("very far from correct"), by stating that it is the first that he has ever addressed to a representative of the Pope, and assures Rinuccini of his friendship as soon as an understanding is arrived at between him and the Earl.

On 14th June, 1645, the battle of Naseby was fought, and one of the consequences of Fairfax's victory was the discovery, in a private cabinet belonging to the King, of a letter addressed to Charles by Glamorgan, in which the writer promised to land in Wales by the beginning of June, and assured the King that the gentlemen of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen would raise and arm 4000 men in those counties to join him. With the ships which were to transport the Irish, Glamorgan undertook to blockade Milford Haven while the Welsh troops marched into Pembrokeshire. He further stated that he had £30,000 ready for this service, with 10,000 muskets, 2000 case of pistols, 800 barrels of gunpowder, besides his own artillery, and that he was assured of £30,000 more on his return from Ireland. The discovery of this document did not improve the King's position.

The long-expected Rinuccini now arrived, landing on the 22nd of October in Kenmare Bay after a narrow escape from "a Parliament frigate" by which he had been chased, and entered Kilkenny on the 12th of November. Here the Pope's Nuncio was received by his co-religionists with all the honours due to his rank and profession, and, on the letters from the King being delivered to him by Glamorgan, he, though at first doubtful whether he ought to accept letters from a heretic, however regal, decided on reflection to do so on account of the Earl's recognized devotion to the Church which he represented. The Nuncio could scarcely be regarded

as a harbinger of peace to Ireland, for while at Rochelle he had purchased a frigate of twenty-six guns, and he brought with him a large quantity of arms and ammunition, including 2000 muskets and cartouch belts, 4000 swords, 2000 pike-heads, 400 brace of pistols, and 20,000 pounds of gunpowder. These arms, on arrival, were stored in Ardtully Castle. The potent factor Rinuccini was in Irish politics at this period is proved by the fact that, in addition to the arms he supplied, he also brought, in specie collected from Rome, from Cardinal Mazarin, and other sources, no less a sum than 100,000 dollars for the use of the Irish.

Glamorgan, in the fullness of his heart and to prove his confidence in the Confederates, left the original of his treaty in their hands when he himself took his departure for Dublin, and Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, possessing himself of it, had several copies of it made for distribution amongst the clergy. One of those to whom a copy was sent was Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam; and that important town being attacked by a combined force of English and Scots, under circumstances into which we need not enter, the Archbishop was taken prisoner and killed in a brutal manner. On the body of the murdered Archbishop a certified copy of the Glamorgan treaty was found. This, with a recital of the Earl's private commission from the King and of his oath to the Confederates, falling into the hands of Sir Charles Coote, the younger, who with Sir Robert Stewart and Sir Frederick Hamilton was with the invading army, were by him sent in November to Lord Digby, Secretary of State, who had just arrived in Dublin, and to Ormonde, with the result that on Glamorgan's visiting the capital on Christmas Eve, to treat about the levying of troops, he was on St. Stephen's Day arrested on a charge of high treason by order of the Viceroy.

Into the trial and the consequences to Charles or Glamorgan we need not enquire. Suffice it to say, so far as our

province is concerned, that the result of the exposure was fatal to the peace negotiations, for it was generally accepted without demur that "the Protestants of England would fling the King's person out of the window if they believed it possible that he had lent himself to such an undertaking".

The General Assembly met early in January, 1646, and negotiations for peace were renewed with Ormonde, the result being that on the 28th of March a peace which was no peace was signed by the Viceroy on behalf of the King, and by Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, and others on behalf of the Confederates. The treaty contained thirty articles, the only one of which bearing directly on the question of religion being the first, which provided "that the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom of Ireland, be not bound to take the oath of supremacy expressed in the Second of Queen Elizabeth".

Ulster in the meantime was in a deplorable state. While the Confederates were confused by cabals in their councils, and their army paralysed by the jealousy of their generals, Sir Phelim O'Neill disliking Owen Roe as a rival both in military fame and in his claim to the chieftaincy, Munro plundered the province with impunity, and sent detachments of his Scots to serve under Sir Charles Coote, who was now Parliamentary Lord President of Connaught. Ormonde would on no account pronounce the Scots to be rebels, for many who had taken the Covenant were really Royalists. The harsh treatment of the King, who had on the 5th of May surrendered himself to the Scottish army, and the success of Montrose in Scotland had a great effect in Ulster, and for a moment Ormonde deemed it possible to unite the English and Scots forces in the province under his own command. The officers of the English forces in Ulster met at Antrim on the 17th of May, and agreed to receive Commissioners from the Parliament. They were ready, they said, to continue the war until the conclusion of a safe and honourable

peace by consent of King and Parliament, but they added that they "called heaven and earth to witness that it was not their fault, if they were forced to take any other way for their preservation and subsistence".

The war was to be continued in a way which Ormonde and the English officers little anticipated.

CHAPTER X

The Battle of Benburb

Owen Roe O'Neill's Army—He repairs to Leinster—Reconciliation effected by Rinuccini between Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neill—The Papal Nuncio and Owen O'Neill—The Nuncio finances O'Neill, who collects a Large Army and marches north to surprise Armagh—Munro marches to meet him—The Opposing Armies meet at Benburb—Owen Roe's Speech to his Men—The Scots defeated and routed—Munro escapes to Lisburn.

Owen Roe O'Neill, as we have seen, was unable to give Castlehaven, during his invasion of Ulster, the support he had promised. His army was composed chiefly of creaghts, those wild nomadic herdsmen who were always willing and ready to assemble in times of turbulence, and who managed to escape the consequences of defeat by the ease with which they were able to disperse. There was no cohesion in an army composed of such free and independent units as these. O'Neill had much difficulty in maintaining anything like a standing army in Ulster with which to oppose the encroachments of Munro. His sources of supply were gradually cut off, and as a last resource he was driven to repair with his wood-kernes and creaghts to Leinster to seek the means of subsistence which were no longer to be found in Ulster. In the southern province O'Neill could not control his unruly followers, who, in lieu of pay, lived on plunder, and so greatly did their depredations harass the inhabitants that the Supreme Council at Kilkenny was obliged to follow an indignant remonstrance with a threat of expulsion by force of arms.

O'Neill, who was still smarting under the affront he had

received in Castlehaven's having been appointed to supreme command when the Confederates' army invaded Ulster, a position which he had never doubted would be first offered to himself, was highly incensed at what he considered this fresh insult; and it is possible that he would have thrown up his command and left the country in disgust if at this moment he had not been summoned to an audience by Rinuccini, who had resolved to bring about a reconciliation between Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neill. The Nuncio was also determined to strike a vigorous blow in the north against the Scots, and, having cleared Ulster of the invaders, to restore to its ancient worship the cathedral of Armagh. For this he needed the help of Owen Roe, and to that end he assured O'Neill of his sympathy, and promised him practical support by devoting to his needs the subsidies he received from the Continent. The Nuncio had a peculiar satisfaction in thus securing O'Neill's services, for he was at variance with the Supreme Council with regard to Ormonde's peace, and he therefore set himself vigorously to secure the efficiency of O'Neill's army by supplying him with money from the Pope wherewith to pay his men, giving him at the same time generous grants of weapons from the stores he had established at Ardtully.

The Ulster men were now mobilized, and informed that they were employed by the Nuncio, who needed their services in the sacred cause of religion. They were, in addition, emboldened by the assurance that the Pope had placed them under the special protection of Heaven. Special efforts were made to enlist the sympathies of all by playing judiciously on the religious sentiments of an eminently religious and emotional race, and by the end of May O'Neill found himself at the head of a well-provisioned and well-equipped army of about 5000 foot and 500 horse.

The Confederacy during the early portion of 1646 was so weakened by internal dissensions that Munro thought it

opportune to attack Kilkenny. In order to meet with as little opposition as possible when marching south, it was deemed expedient that Sir Robert Stewart should invade Connaught while Munro himself engaged O'Neill, who had marched north with the intention of surprising Armagh. Munro, however, had received timely notice of this movement, and determined to frustrate it. He therefore hastened from Carrickfergus with a portion of the Scottish army and some of the forces of the province to meet him, leaving Campbell of Auchinbreck in command.

The Scottish general's collective forces on this occasion are said to have amounted to 6000 foot and 800 horse. In setting out he had 3400 foot "effective under arms", with eleven troops of horse and six field-pieces. His army was thus superior to that of O'Neill, numerically as well as in equipment; nevertheless he sent word to his nephew, Colonel George Munro, who commanded at Coleraine, to join him immediately with the troops in garrison there, some 240 musketeers and three troops of horse. He appointed Glaslough, in the north of Monaghan, as their rendezvous, and, leaving the neighbourhood of Belfast on the 2nd of June, 1646, he spent the night of the 3rd near Dromore.

On the following morning Munro detached a troop of horse, under Daniel Munro, with orders to cross the Blackwater at Benburb and meet George Munro at Dungannon. O'Neill, on being informed of this, sent two of his officers, Colonels Bernard MacMahon and Patrick MacNeny, with their regiments, to intercept George Munro, but they did not effect anything. O'Neill's cavalry had reached some hilly ground commanding the Blackwater, and he now determined to concentrate his forces and take up his position at Benburb.

The night of the 4th Munro's army spent at Hamilton's Bawn, and in the morning the General himself went through Armagh to view the bridges and ford at Benburb. These are commanded by high rocks, and to attempt a passage in

front of O'Neill's forces was not possible. Munro therefore marched to Kinnaird, and, crossing the river a long distance to the rear of the Irish, approached them in front by a circuitous route from the east and north, arriving late in the afternoon.

After this forced march Munro might possibly have halted until morning but that his men were eager for the fray. "All our army, foot and horse," the General declared, "did earnestly covet fighting, which it was impossible for me to gainstand without being reproached for cowardice, and never did I see a greater confidence than was amongst us." MacMahon and MacNeny now returned from their fruitless expedition in search of George Munro, whose uncle at first took them to be the reinforcement he was expecting, and, on learning his mistake, became alarmed and ordered a retreat. O'Neill, observing this momentary hesitation on the part of the Scots, ordered his men to advance, and the two armies met at Drumflugh, between the Oona brook and Benburb.

In Sir Phelim O'Neill's journal, and all contemporary accounts of the battle of Benburb, mention is made of Owen Roe's short speech to his army, a speech which, whether it was delivered in Irish or in English, evidently made a deep impression on the men. It is, however, variously reported. In the journal it is stated that O'Neill said: "Behold the army of the enemies of God, the enemies of your lives. Fight valiantly against them to-day, for it is they who have deprived you of your chiefs, of your children, of your means of subsistence, spiritual and temporal; who have torn from you your lands, and made you wandering fugitives." According to a British officer, "MacArt spoke in front of his own men these words, as I was told, or to that effect: 'You have arms in your hands, you are as numerous as they are; and now try your valour and your strength on those that have banished you and now resolve to destroy you bud and branch. So let your manhood be seen by your push of pike; and I will

engage, if you do so, by God's assistance and the intervention of His blessed mother and all the Holy Saints in Heaven, that the day will be your own. Your word is *Sancta Maria*; and so, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, advance, and give not fire till you are within picket-length.'"

It was now about six in the evening, and the sun, which had been in the eyes of the Irish, was now well in the eyes of the Scots, who also had the wind adverse, blowing dust and smoke in their faces. As the Scots advanced, their passage was disputed in a narrow defile by Colonel Richard O'Farrell; but this obstacle was soon removed by Munro's artillery, and the whole Scottish army advanced against O'Neill's position, which was admirably selected, being protected in the rear by a wood, with the Blackwater on his right and a bog on his left, the plain in front being full of bushes and scrubby timber. The ground thus selected made Munro's front too narrow, and overcrowding resulted in confusion, which was increased by a squadron of his own cavalry acting wildly.

O'Neill saw that the moment was decisive, and ordered his men to charge, and the Irish rushed upon the Scots and English with an impetus that was irresistible. The Scottish cavalry twice charged to break the advancing column of the Irish, but were themselves thrown into disorder by the impetuous charge of the Irish horse. The ranks of Munro's foot and horse were now broken, and, the Irish continuing to press on vigorously, the confusion was soon converted into a total rout, a result to which Munro's own cavalry contributed not a little, for he tells us one squadron, "consisting for the most part of Irish riders, although under the English command", "did not charge, but retreated disorderly through our foot, making the enemies' horse to follow them at least one squadron". This may possibly have been inspired by treachery.

Lord Blaney's regiment first met the brunt of the Irish onset, and, after a stubborn resistance, was cut to pieces, all

the guns being taken and the commander slain. Colonel Conway had two horses killed under him, but escaped on a third to Newry, accompanied by Captain Burke and about forty horsemen. The regiment of Sir James Montgomery was the only one that retreated in tolerable order. Lord Montgomery of Ardes, who led the cavalry during the battle, was taken prisoner with about twenty other officers. The infantry fought on bravely till sunset, when they broke and fled, the majority seeking the ford of the Blackwater; but Sir Phelim O'Neill held possession of the ford, and the slaughter there was grim and great, for he specially charged the horse whom he commanded to take no prisoners and to give no quarter. Of those who crossed the river, many were killed in passing through the county of Armagh. Others fled towards Caledon, and many were drowned in Knocknacloy lake. George Munro got back to Coleraine without the loss of a single man.

Munro himself escaped to Lisburn, and with him most of his cavalry. He fled so precipitately that his wig, hat, cloak, and sword were found among the spoils. All the Scottish artillery, tents, and provisions, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition and thirty-two colours, fell into the hands of the Irish. Munro acknowledges a loss of 500 or 600 men; but the Irish accounts state that from 3000 to 4000 dead were counted. The Irish loss was 70 men killed and 200 wounded.

Sir James Turner maintained that Munro's greatest fault as a general was a tendency to underrate his enemy. Munro himself said of the Benburb disaster: "The Lord of Hosts had a controversy with us to rub shame on our faces, as on other armies, till once we shall be humbled; *for a greater confidence did I never see*". The British officer whose account of O'Neill's speech as given in *History of the Wars in Ireland* has been quoted, attributes the defeat of the Scots primarily to over-confidence, and also to the fact that the

soldiers were wearied by their long march from Lisburn, having had but little rest or refreshment on the way, and having had to stand to their arms for at least five hours. To these he adds another reason, the shortness of the Scottish pike. "The Irish pikes", he says, "were longer by a foot or two, and far better to pierce, being four square and small, and the other pikes broad-headed, which are the worst in the world."

Owen Roe, having won a victory, Irish-like did not follow it up. In this he followed the example of his great namesakes, Shane O'Neill and Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Had he continued to advance, the consequence might have been still more disastrous to the Parliamentarians in the north; but, not being his own master, being servant to Rinuccini, he was peremptorily ordered to return as soon as possible to the south. O'Neill did not return immediately, but started raising new regiments, which he armed with the weapons taken from the Scots. Four days after the battle he sent Bartholomew MacEgan, definitor of the order of St. Francis, to Limerick with a letter to the Nuncio, who, in recognition of the services of O'Neill's army, sent to Ulster Dean Mazzari, with instructions to give three rialls (about one-and-sixpence) to each soldier and larger sums to the officers—a fact which increased the belief of the rank and file that they were indeed the army of the Nuncio.

Munro, in the panic of the moment, burned Dundrum, abandoned several strong posts, and called all the English and Scots of Ulster to arms; but the Irish made no further attempt to molest him, and he awaited at Carrickfergus the arrival of fresh supplies of men and money from the Parliament. The fame of O'Neill's victory made many flock to his standard, and his effective force was soon increased to 10,000 men. These he designated "The Catholic Army of Ulster", and thereby excited fresh jealousies, for it identified him as being in alliance with the Nuncio, and thus increased the

hatred of Preston and the Ormondists. Another cause of unpleasantness was due to the fact that the victorious Ulster troops plundered the adjacent borders of Leinster, O'Neill being unable to control them. Ormonde, however, recognized this fact, and rightly attributed the unruly behaviour of the Irish "to the necessities imposed on General O'Neill for want of means to go on or to keep his men in better order where he is".

Thus want of money and ill-feeling between the native and Anglo-Irish leaders prevented the greatest of Irish victories from having any permanent results.

CHAPTER XI

O'Neill and his Ulstermen in Leinster

Four Distinct Parties in Ireland: The Nuncio, the Confederates, Ormonde, and the Scots—The Nuncio attacks the Confederates—Preston joins him—Ormonde visits Kilkenny—Owen Roe O'Neill marches South—Ormonde, alarmed, returns to Dublin—O'Neill marches to Kilkenny—Rinuccini imprisons the Members of the Supreme Council—A New Supreme Council elected, including the Nuncio, Preston, Owen Roe, and Sir Phelim O'Neill—Preston and O'Neill invest Dublin—Their Distrust and Hatred of each other—Clanrickard's Fruitless Negotiations with Preston—The Nuncio and his Army return to Kilkenny—Ormonde surrenders Dublin to Parliament and leaves Ireland.

In Ireland there now existed four distinct parties, each with its own army. The Nuncio, for a time the most powerful opponent to Ormonde's proposals of peace, had the support of Owen Roe O'Neill; the Confederates at Kilkenny, by no means in accord with Rinuccini on many questions, had a large body under their control, with Preston as general; Ormonde, at the head of the Royalist troops, had to face great odds, for he was surrounded by enemies; and Ulster (O'Neill having left it) was garrisoned by George Munro and the Scots.

Of these four parties only one, the Nuncio's, was against the proclamation of peace. Rinuccini saw in a peaceful country no place for himself, and he therefore induced archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and heads of religious houses to protest against the articles of peace as agreed to by the Supreme Council in Kilkenny, deciding "that all and every one of the Confederate Catholics, who shall adhere to such a peace, or consent to the furtherance thereof, or otherwise embrace the same shall be held absolutely perjured: especially

for this cause, that in these articles there is no mention made of the Catholic religion, and the security thereof, nor any care had for the conservation of the privileges of the country as is found promised in the oath [of association]; but rather all things are referred to the will of the most serene King from whom in his present state nothing certain can be had".

The Nuncio now set himself to undermine the power of the Supreme Council, who, when the peace was proclaimed in Dublin, had given instructions that the Proclamation should be printed, "and do order and require the same to be published, and due obedience to be given thereunto by all the Confederate Catholics of Ireland". In Waterford, Clonmel, and Limerick, Ulster-King-at-Arms, who had received orders from the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim the peace, was roughly handled, and in Limerick he was lodged in jail by the authorities, who gave out that he was dead, as the only means by which they could save his life.

The "pulpit drum ecclesiastic" was a power in the land, over which the threat of excommunication on all who did not see eye to eye with the Nuncio now hung heavy; even General Thomas Preston bowed his head to the storm of pontifical fulminations on receiving "a positive inhibition from the clergy that neither myself nor any of my commanders, upon pain of excommunication, shall obey any orders from my Lord-Lieutenant".

Ormonde, who thus felt the power of the Roman Catholics, must have been somewhat gratified to learn that there was at least one body of men in the country who approved of his actions. The Protestant clergy, who had found in Dublin the safety which they had sought in vain elsewhere, praised him for having "preserved not only in this city, but also in all the out-garrisons, the free and full exercise of the true reformed religion"; and if, said they, "any of our number be found disaffected to the religion, book of service, public worship, government of the Church, His Majesty's service,

or disturbers of the present Peace, we do not supplicate for such, but leave them to your lordship to be proceeded with as you shall find convenient".

Additional proof that his actions won favour came to the Viceroy in the shape of an invitation to Kilkenny from the Supreme Council, who, finding their adherents overawed by the Nuncio and threatened with a visitation, accompanied by his army, from his servant O'Neill, deemed the presence of the Lord-Lieutenant likely to strengthen their position. Ormonde, somewhat gratified, accepted the invitation, and left Dublin, accompanied by Digby and Clanrickard, on the 28th of August, to visit scenes familiar to him, and be once again under his own roof-tree in the castle whose ancient battlements are reflected in the River Nore. He was accompanied by 1500 foot, whom he left at Gowran, under Sir Francis Willoughby, 500 horse accompanying him to Kilkenny, where he arrived on the 31st, and was received with general joy and many signs of welcome.

Owen Roe O'Neill, being informed of Ormonde's movements, immediately entered Leinster, and Ormonde, recognizing the fact that he could not cope with the Irish general, sent to Owen Roe, Daniel O'Neill, his nephew, to try to buy him off and induce him to accept the peace. The terms offered were generous enough, and included a gift of the estate of Lord Caulfeild, the custody of all lands in Tyrone forfeited through disloyalty, and recognition of his title by the Crown. Daniel O'Neill was supposed to have influence with his uncle, but on this occasion he failed in his mission, no doubt because Owen Roe came to the conclusion that the Viceroy, however honest in his intentions, had not the means wherewith to carry them into deeds, and therefore the Nuncio, whose power was not limited to this world, but extended to the next, was undoubtedly the better paymaster. O'Neill, therefore, to prove his own power, advanced to the south, encamping at Roscrea on the 9th of September

and Ormonde, alarmed, returned to Dublin, entering the capital on the 13th.

In Kilkenny Rinuccini reigned supreme. Supported by O'Neill, whose army encamped in the immediate neighbourhood, he was irresistible. The Supreme Council was completely cowed by the triumphant Nuncio, who forthwith caused all the members to be committed as prisoners to the castle, with the exception of Patrick Darcy and Plunket. Amongst those thus incarcerated were the General of Munster, Lord Muskerry, Ormonde's brother-in-law; Bellings, the historian, who was secretary to the Council; and Edmond, the eldest son of Lord Mountgarret.

Having thus disposed of the old Council, the Nuncio called upon O'Neill and Preston to assist in the selection of a new one. Of the seventeen members of which it was composed, four were bishops; the laity included Glamorgan, to whom Muskerry's appointment was given, and its military strength was represented by Generals Preston, Owen Roe, and Sir Phelim O'Neill. Rinuccini himself was unanimously elected President.

Ormonde, hearing of these proceedings, hastened to strengthen Dublin against this fresh combination of forces, from whom he anticipated an attack. That his surmise was correct proved to be true, for at the end of October Preston had encamped at Leixlip, about seven miles from the capital, and O'Neill not far from him, near Lucan. The Viceroy, faced with this new element of danger, caused the mills in the vicinity to be destroyed and the country laid waste for a considerable distance, so that no provisions were available; and, the winter having set in with intense severity, the troops suffered greatly, as many as twenty or thirty men perishing nightly at their posts.

While Ormonde was visiting Kilkenny the Nuncio had called upon O'Neill to attack Dublin, believing that the victor of Benburb could easily take the city by assault during the

OWEN ROE O'NEILL

After a Dutch painting

Viceroy's absence; but Owen Roe pointed out to the domineering and pragmatical prelate that he had no artillery, and indeed his army was in a worse condition than he appears to have admitted. It consisted of 5000 foot, of which only half was armed, and that but indifferently, "the rest as the rabble used to be in the beginning of the distractions". His small troops of horse were described as "miserable", and they were reported to be "not above two armed with pistol, and none with defensive arms". This motley army was accompanied by a huge crowd of nearly 8000 "of the Ulster families, unarmed", whom the soldiers were expected not alone to protect but to feed. Preston's horse were in better condition and better armed, but of the combined forces not more than 10,000 could be reckoned as effective, and there were but five pieces of artillery.

The defences of Dublin were in so bad a state that the besiegers might have found it easy to storm the city at many points; but they were too busily engaged with their own dissensions to think of a combined attack on the capital. Even if they had not had their private differences, the generals had many subjects on which to disagree. The Leinster men were angered by seeing O'Neill's hungry followers devouring the products of their province, and they naturally carried their complaints to Preston, who expostulated and threatened; and, O'Neill having no power to repress the ravaging proclivities of his starving and desperate army, there was much dissension between the camps, which were in fact armed against each other, the Nuncio being fully occupied in passing between them, vainly endeavouring to reconcile the discordant elements, and to reconcile the generals, whose hatred and distrust of each other was such that he gradually came to the conclusion that "arms at first devoted to religion were about to minister to private passions alone".

All this time Preston's attitude was more than dubious. His vacillation was such that it was debated in Council

whether he should not be seized and imprisoned as a traitor to the cause. He was openly in correspondence with Ormonde through the medium of Clanrickard, who was in Luttrellstown, and it subsequently transpired that he agreed to a plan by which he and Clanrickard were jointly to garrison Dublin, and to compel the Nuncio's party to accept the Peace. Ormonde, however, insisted that the original Peace should first be accepted; but to this Preston would not agree. Clanrickard then proposed on his own behalf to procure a repeal of the penal laws, and enjoyment by Catholics of such churches and ecclesiastical possessions as they held at the conclusion of the peace, until a settlement by a free Irish Parliament, "His Majesty being in free condition himself".

In confirmation of these terms Clanrickard undertook to have them ratified under the King's own hand, as also by the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and by the French Government. If these terms were accepted and matters concluded the Catholics were to be "forthwith invested in such commands by His Majesty's authority, both in field and garrison, as may pass for a very sufficient part of the security". Preston's views of the proposed treaty may be gathered from his letter to the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny. "We have," he wrote, "by the divine Providence, wrought the splendour of religion to that extension as from Bunratty to Dublin there is Catholic religion professed and exercised, and from Waterford to the lower parts of Tyrone, and confined heresy in this Province to Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and Trim, these places which in four days will be garrisoned by my army, by God's help; and then think you in what posture of religion those parts are in, for us and ours, having all penal laws against Catholics repealed; all in our own hands, churches and Church livings, secured till the King in a free Parliament declare the same for us; the government in the Catholics' hands; petitions of right allowed the parties grieved; and, to make this good, our arms in our own hands."

While these negotiations were proceeding, Ormonde wrote to General Munro asking for 500 Scottish soldiers to help to garrison Dublin, the fortifications of which were in an unsatisfactory condition. In repairing them the services of ladies were accepted to carry baskets filled with earth, the Marchioness of Ormonde being amongst the fair labourers thus employed. Munro, who was doubtless aware that the Lord-Lieutenant was in negotiation with the Parliamentarians, expressed regret at his inability to send his officers so far south. Ormonde then sent a deputation to London to treat with Parliament for the surrender of Dublin, with the result that commissioners were sent to interview Ormonde on the subject; and though terms were not arrived at, because the Lord-Lieutenant refused to deliver up the Sword of State without an order from the King, the mere presence of the Parliamentary Commissioners, of whom Sir John Clotworthy was one, served to alarm the Irish, and O'Neill, two days after their arrival, fearing that Preston and Clanrickard would combine with Ormonde and thus he would be placed between two fires, collected his men, threw an improvised bridge over the river, and marched south to Kilkenny, to which Rinuccini had preceded him. Preston's officers, "not being excommunication-proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's party", and therefore the negotiations with Clanrickard were hastily broken off, and Preston withdrew into Westmeath and Longford.

The Nuncio, having failed to take Dublin, as he had boasted he would, found on his return to Kilkenny that he must try to conciliate the many enemies he had made, and he therefore gave orders for the release of the imprisoned members of the former Supreme Council, and a meeting was held on the 10th January, 1647, at which all members bound themselves by a new and stringent oath of association to make no peace without the consent of the General Assembly.

It being now evident the Peace would not be accepted

by the Kilkenny Assembly, and Ormonde being in a desperate state through lack of provisions, he wrote to the Parliamentary Commissioners in Ulster offering to surrender the Sword of State and his garrisons to Parliament. This offer was immediately accepted, the Commissioners landed at Dublin with 1500 men on the 7th of June, and on the 28th of July Ormonde surrendered Dublin and left the country.

The Parliamentary party appointed Colonel Michael Jones Governor of Dublin and Commander of the Forces in Leinster. He had to contend with some of the difficulties which beset the Marquis of Ormonde, and the troops left by the ex-Lord-Lieutenant, ill-paid and ill-fed, being provoked by the severe discipline of the republican governor, became mutinous and plundered the citizens.

O'Neill, who had been given by the Confederates the command of the troops of Ulster and Connaught, now found himself destitute of resources at Boyle, and was both sullen and dispirited. He had the satisfaction, however, of learning that Preston was badly beaten by Jones at Dungan's Hill on the 8th August, when the Confederates lost 5470 men and the English 20, and of receiving in consequence a pressing summons to enter Leinster and harass Jones; but he refused to move. The personal entreaties of Bishop MacMahon at last prevailed, but many of his officers refused to obey. Their leader, the celebrated "Colkitto" MacDonald, had been with Preston at Dungan's Hill when 400 of his Redshanks had fallen, and he was with difficulty persuaded to change his mind. O'Neill now marched into Meath and encamped at Cloughjordan until November, when he collected about 12,000 foot and 1500 horse and devastated the country round Dublin.

Sir Henry Tichborne, who was continued by the Parliament as Governor of Drogheda, and "embraced it with cheerfulness", had helped Jones at Dungan Hill with nearly 2000 men and two guns. He now followed the northern army everywhere and cut off many stragglers, and exhibited

such activity that the Nuncio's scheme that O'Neill should march "into Ulster to reduce the fort of Enniskillen, and to take possession of the Holy Place of St. Patrick's Purgatory, now about one hundred years in the hands of the heretics", seemed very unlikely to be realized. O'Neill, however, marched to within but a very short distance of Balbriggan, plundering and burning as he went to such an extent that over 200 fires were counted at one time from St. Audoen's steeple in Dublin. Near Garristown Jones and Tichborne suddenly appeared, and the latter wished to fight, but Jones overruled him, and O'Neill returned to Cloughjordan without having to strike a blow.

CHAPTER XII

Defeat of the Royalists

The Nuncio and O'Neill disagree—Lord Taaffe defeated by Inchiquin—O'Neill deprived of his Commission as General of Ulster—He proclaims War against the Confederates—Inchiquin's Description of the State of the Country—O'Neill retires to Ulster—Colonel George Monck takes Munro Prisoner—He is appointed Governor of Belfast and Carrickfergus—Coote takes Culmore Fort—O'Neill's Negotiations with Governor of Dublin—Ormonde returns to Ireland—O'Neill proclaimed a Traitor by the Supreme Council—Peace ratified at last—The Nuncio leaves Ireland—Execution of Charles I.

Colonel George Monck, whose name sprang into prominence at this period, arrived in Ireland on the 9th of March, 1647, in the train of Lord Lisle, who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant by the Parliament. Lisle found himself unable to cope with the opposition with which he was met, and returned almost immediately to England, taking Monck with him. Monck, however, returned in a short time, having been appointed commander of all forces, both English and Scottish, in Ulster, those commanded by Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Londonderry, alone excepted.

Money becoming scarce, the relations between O'Neill and Rinuccini became strained. The Nuncio's influence waned when there was no longer cash to support it, and Owen Roe's applications for coin with which to pay his men were met with maledictions. Not satisfied with these, Rinuccini now wished to repudiate his having had any share in robberies and murders done "under cover of religion" by Ulster soldiers, "barbarous enough by nature, although good Catholics". O'Neill, according to the Nuncio,

was now the devil incarnate. "If I had not sent my confessor to dissuade him from so unjust a resolution," declared Rinuccini, "Kilkenny would have been sacked and much innocent blood shed." The "Catholic Army of Ulster" was now *anathema* to its former paymaster, who became as fierce in his denunciations of it as he had formerly been prodigal of his praise. The people who had recognized the prelate's patronage of the Ulster army continued to identify the Nuncio with O'Neill's followers; and when, complained Rinuccini, they "perform any act of cruelty or robbery, the sufferers execrate His Holiness and me, and curse the clergy, whom they consider the patrons of this army". Mountgarret being one of the sufferers, he directed a crowd of women to the Nuncio's house as the residence of the chief cause of the trouble, whereupon "they made a dreadful uproar with howls and lamentations, thus giving it to be understood that I countenanced the cruelties perpetrated by the Ulster men".

An event which contributed greatly to weaken the power of the Confederates was the severe defeat of Lord Taaffe (formerly an adherent of Ormonde, but who after his departure had taken the oath of Confederacy) by Murrough O'Brien, Baron Inchiquin, at Knocknanuss on the 13th of November, 1647, when Taaffe lost nearly 6000 men, more than half his army, and Inchiquin only about 150 men. The General Assembly of the Confederates, which met at Kilkenny on the day before this disaster, had already begun to show signs of weakness. In 1646 there had been seventy-three representatives from Ulster; on this occasion, "from poverty or some other cause", there were but nine. Among the orders made under a new constitution inaugurated at this meeting was one for the regulation of the creaghts, a body of nomadic herdsmen of whom O'Neill's army was chiefly composed, to whom law and order were words without meaning. The Nuncio now made a last desperate attempt to dominate the assembly. He asked that, as the war had

hindered the province of Ulster from sending its complement of seventy-three representatives to the meeting, the nine members present might be allowed, not alone to vote on their own behalf, but also on behalf of the absent representatives of Ulster. The opposition proved to be sufficiently strong to be able to reject this proposal, for "the lord nuncio's excommunications had now by his often thundering of them, grown more cheap", and had little or no effect save on the rude and ignorant followers of the rival generals. Being friendless, the Nuncio, on the 7th of May, 1648, returned to O'Neill, who was encamped at Killminch in Queen's County. The northern chieftain now received more money, the Nuncio having sent Dean Massari to Rome for financial assistance. With the aid of this he augmented his forces as quickly as possible, and thus was able to be independent of the Council, who, on learning that he had sided with Rinuccini, revoked his commission as general of Ulster.

Rinuccini, though he had lost power with the Council, was still strong in the support of a large body of the Irish clergy, including many of the most influential ecclesiastics. That he still held sway over the rude rabble of which the army was composed is proved by the fact that when the Confederates determined to attack those who supported him, and sent James Preston, son of the general, for that purpose with a large force to besiege Athy, 2000 of Preston's men, smarting under the excommunication, hearing of O'Neill's approach from Longford, immediately deserted their commander and joined Owen Roe. That redoubtable leader, having made a truce with the Scots in the north, collected his forces from Connaught and Ulster, and, being now at the head of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, proclaimed on the 11th of June war against the Supreme Council.

The state of the country may be gauged from the description given in a letter to Ormonde written by Inchiquin, who, disgusted at the neglect with which he had been treated by

Parliament, had declared himself Royalist, and joined the Confederates. In imploring Ormonde to return he writes: "Divers of my men have died of hunger, after they had a while lived upon cats and dogs, as many do now. And if, while I am in this condition, the Parliament shipping should arrive according to our expectation, grounded upon good advertisement, with some officers, money, clothes and victuals, and make tender thereof unto our soldiers, if they will give up the officers they have now, a greater strait than I shall be in cannot be imagined."

O'Neill now commenced a campaign against the Confederates in which he expended much force and gained little or no success; even Nenagh, which he took by storm, being recovered in a short time by Inchiquin. He made an effort to reach Kerry, which had the double attraction of being as yet undevastated and of being mountainous, thus holding forth a prospect of both food and shelter from attack; but being unable to achieve his object he returned in high dudgeon to Ulster.

The dissensions amongst the Confederates and the actions of O'Neill freed the Parliamentarians in Dublin from the restraint with which they had been hampered; and Munro and his Presbyterians, who, although Monck had been appointed by Parliament Commander-in-Chief in Ulster, still held Belfast and Carrickfergus, became uneasy, and covertly sent George, the General's nephew, to Scotland with a large number of men from the various Scottish regiments. Monck, acting under instructions, appeared with a strong force before Carrickfergus at midnight on the 12th of September, and, the gate being opened by a friendly hand, Munro, who had retired, was seized and sent prisoner to England. Carrickfergus being taken, Belfast at once surrendered without a blow, and the successful Monck was given by a grateful Parliament the governorship of both towns.

The Parliamentary party was slowly gaining ground in

Ulster. Encouraged by Monck's success, Sir Charles Coote, Governor of Londonderry, determined to dislodge that ardent royalist, Sir Robert Stewart, who held the fort of Culmore, from which his guns swept Lough Foyle, and threatened to cut off Coote's supplies. As the dislodgment could not be achieved save by a ruse, Sir Robert was induced to visit Londonderry to attend some social function, whereupon both he and Colonel Audley Mervyn were seized and sent to join Munro and other Royalists in durance in England. With the surrender of Culmore fort and Lifford, every stronghold in Ulster was held by Parliament, with the sole exception of Charlemont, which still remained in the hands of Sir Phelim O'Neill, in whose possession it had been since 1641.

While Carrickfergus was thus being seized by Monck, O'Neill was making proposals to Inchiquin, employing as his envoy Rory O'Moore, the originator and instigator of the rebellion. O'Moore was authorized to offer Inchiquin the Province of Munster, on condition that he did not interfere with O'Neill's tactics in the other three. Owen Roe also approached Colonel Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin. Jones deputed his brother Henry, Bishop of Clogher and Scoutmaster-General, to act for him, which disconcerted O'Neill, for one of his strongest adherents, Ever MacMahon, a somewhat bellicose bishop, who was afterwards hanged, also claimed to be Bishop of Clogher. It is therefore not surprising that nothing came of these negotiations. The Parliament determined not to be hoodwinked; and that they were not is evident, for they declared that "as Owen Roe and the Bishop of Clogher (Ever MacMahon) mislead those adhering unto them with deep protestations of their loyalty, and desires to advance the Catholic religion, and His Majesty's interests, and his aversion to Jones and his ways; so of the other side Jones with his Protestant Bishop of Clogher, by the same acts and illusions (while they be practisers with O'Neill) endeavours to persuade his officers

and soldiers that he intends to prosecute him as a pestilent blood-sucker, and a sworn enemy to the English nation and Government; and we are informed that when despatches come from Owen O'Neill, and the messengers of Vicar-General Edmund O'Reilly are seen at Dublin, Jones gives out that they are sent from the Council at Kilkenny".

Ormonde, as requested by Inchiquin, now returned, landing at Cork on the 29th of September, 1648, and he forthwith issued a manifesto declaring that his intention was "to employ his utmost endeavours for the settlement of the Protestant religion, for defence of the King in his prerogatives, and for maintaining the privileges and freedom of Parliament, as well as the liberty of the subject". Being requested to prove that he had still powers to deal with the Irish, he applied to the King, who in his response from Newport, dated the 10th of October, was remarkably frank, bidding the ex-Viceroy to "be not startled at my *great concessions* concerning Ireland, for that they will come to nothing". The Assembly at Kilkenny warmly welcomed Ormonde on his return, and appointed Sir Phelim O'Neill with others to negotiate with him the terms for "a well-grounded and lasting peace". The Council, now deeming that by Ormonde's advent they had acquired additional strength, proclaimed Owen Roe O'Neill a traitor, Sir Phelim, as one of their body, assenting, and all his followers were called upon to lay down their arms by the 24th of October, on pain of being considered traitors also.

The influence of the Nuncio was very greatly minimized by the return in November of Bishop French and Sir Nicholas Plunket, who had been sent by him to the Pope with a request for monetary aid in his mission to Ireland. The ambassadors returned empty-handed, and reported that His Holiness appeared to regret having expended so much money, of the disposal of which he had received no account. The envoys had been detained four months at the Vatican, and

had during their stay tried to get all who entertained "pious intentions" towards the Irish to carry out their intentions, but without success. They added that just before their departure from Rome the news arrived of the rupture between the Nuncio and the Assembly, upon which they "heard from some eminent persons" that though His Holiness also had pious intentions towards the Irish, he could not carry them out; for as regards money, "he knew not to what party he would send it, we being flushed in blood one against the other". The fact is that the Ottoman Empire just then threatened to invade Italy, and the Pope was at the moment so deeply interested in Turks that His Holiness had neither money nor time to devote to the conversion of infidels in Ireland.

While Sir Phelim O'Neill and his fellow-Commissioners were engaged in negotiating with Ormonde as to the terms of the well-grounded and lasting peace, a mutiny broke out in Inchiquin's army at Cork, originating in disappointment arising from the fact that the ex-Viceroy arrived with promises only and no arrears of pay, and Parliament appeared to be possessed of plenty of money. Officers and men alike seemed to be inclined to forsake the Royalist cause. Inchiquin acted with characteristic promptitude, and succeeded in quelling the mutiny, but he thought that Ormonde's presence might be beneficial, and accordingly to Cork Ormonde went. Here he found Sir Richard Fanshawe, who had arrived opportunely with letters from the Prince of Wales announcing the departure for Kinsale of Prince Rupert and sixteen frigates with ammunition and supplies, and also announcing the approaching visit of James, Duke of York. The Prince of Wales himself was unable to visit Ireland, having only recently recovered from an attack of smallpox, but he promised to follow soon. Ormonde, gratified by this intelligence, and having spread the good news, returned to Kilkenny.

At this moment the Remonstrance of the army in England,

requiring that the King should be brought to trial, reached Inchiquin, and was sent by him to Ormonde. The evident danger in which the King was placed alarmed the Confederates, who felt that their own safety depended in some measure upon the preservation of Charles, and they acceded without further delay to the terms proposed by Ormonde. All parties being now satisfied, the treaty was ratified on the 17th of January, 1649; after which, amid general rejoicing, the peace was immediately proclaimed. The Articles of Peace differed but little from those drawn up in 1646, which had been so fiercely opposed by the Nuncio. Everything was referred to a free Parliament to be held in Ireland in six months, and no man was to be molested for any matter of religion in the meantime. The Confederacy was dissolved, and the powers of a provisional government were vested in a body of laymen, later called "Commissioners of Trust". The first of these were Lords Dillon, Muskerry, and Athenry, Colonel Alexander MacDonnell, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Nicholas Plunket, Sir Richard Barnwell, Geoffrey Browne, Donough O'Callaghan, Turlough O'Neill, Miles Reilly, and Dr. Gerald Fennell. The Church was complacent, having "received a good satisfaction for the being and safety of religion", and it declared that "by the temporal articles lives, liberties, and the estates of men are well provided for".

Rinuccini, reduced at last to silence, was now ordered by the Confederates to leave the country, Ormonde declaring that "the Nuncio is a foreigner, and no subject of His Majesty's; therefore not at all interested in any agreement between His Majesty and his subjects, and may have aims prejudicial to both"; he therefore "withdrew . . . preaching damnation to the traitors who were deserting the cause of Christ; and soon after he shook the dust of Ireland from his feet and returned to Italy".

The Peace, as stated, was ratified on the 17th of January,

1649. On the 30th, Charles "laid his comely head" upon the block, a striking proof of—

> How much of pain it takes
> To purify the World.

On the 10th of February Prince Rupert with his fleet entered the harbour of Kinsale, and, the news of the execution at Whitehall being received about the same time, Ormonde without delay proclaimed Charles II.

CHAPTER XIII

Oliver Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland

Charles II in Exile—Ormonde invites him to Ireland—O'Neill's Demands—Ormonde's Overtures to O'Neill, Coote, and Jones—Castlehaven invades Leinster—Ormonde besieges Dublin—Owen Roe O'Neill relieves Londonderry—Oliver Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Arrives with Army in Ireland—Besieges Drogheda, and takes the Town by storm.

Ireland was now, in the language of Carlyle, "a scene of distracted controversies, plunderings, excommunications, treacheries, conflagrations, of universal misery and blood and bluster. . . . The History of it does not form itself into a picture, but remains only a huge blot, an indiscriminate blackness. . . ." Superabundance of Carlylese is apt to become mere incoherence; there is a ray of light in the indiscriminate blackness. We shall "follow the gleam".

Charles II was now thirty. From the impressionable age of twenty-one he had been an exile, living sometimes in France, sometimes in Holland; he loved neither. Paris, under the eye of Henrietta Maria, he found barely tolerable, but the Hague was at all times nauseous. He formed an early resolve that should he ever have the good fortune to return to reside in England he would never again set out on his travels. "Eyes had been given this man", said George Meredith of just such another voluptuary, "to spy out the good things of life", and such a man, despite the predominance of the Puritan element in the majority of mankind, inevitably becomes in the long run "one of our conquerors". England, whether he reigned or was a rover,

always remained in Charles's eyes "a land of pure delight"; but the way to England at present lay through Ireland or Scotland, and, true to his instincts, he chose the path of least resistance. When Ormonde applied for a renewal of his commission as Lord-Lieutenant it was renewed with the fullest powers; and if the King hesitated to accept the invitation of Presbyterian Scotland, it was because he believed with the newly-appointed Secretary for Foreign Languages, John Milton, that "new Presbyter was but old Priest writ large", and he shuddered at the thought of subscribing to the Solemn League and Covenant. Man's chief end, he held, was to love women, wine, and song, and the best piety was to enjoy while we can. A pleasure-loving nature such as this was not likely to commend itself to the orthodox who believed in John Knox, so Charles had perforce to possess his soul in patience.

Ormonde in Ireland worked with a will on behalf of the exiled monarch. Now that the Nuncio was gone, it struck him that Owen Roe might be in a mood to be approached, and accordingly he made overtures to the Ulster chieftain, who was grimly holding his own at the head of 5000 foot and 300 horse, despite the fact that 2000 of his men had gone to Spain under the command of O'Sullivan Beare, and that daily his chiefs were deserting him. O'Neill agreed to accept the peace, provided that at the expense of the country he might command 6000 foot and 800 horse. He claimed that the six escheated counties in Ulster should be restored to the old Irish, and in this demand he was supported by the Marquis of Antrim; finally he declared that he was ready to join the King when His Majesty landed in Ireland, but he refused to hold any further communication with Ormonde unless his request for an army was granted. At this demand the Commissioners of Trust at first demurred, but finally agreed to the terms required, making it, however, a condition that regiments which had deserted O'Neill should be

reinstated. Inasmuch as one of these regiments was commanded by Sir Phelim, who had taken an active part in the Council which had proclaimed him a traitor, Owen Roe flatly refused to consider the proposition, and turned to negotiate with the governors of Dublin and of Belfast. From the former he succeeded in purchasing some gunpowder; with the latter, who held the command of Dundalk, he made an arrangement to intercept the communication between the Scottish Royalists in the north and Ormonde in the central counties. This agreement, which was made on the 8th of May, 1649, was only to hold good for three months, neither party apparently placing any confidence in its durability. O'Neill undertook not to join either Ormonde or Inchiquin, and Monck supplied O'Neill with needed gunpowder.

Having failed to secure O'Neill, Ormonde addressed himself to Sir Charles Coote, who held Londonderry for the Parliament. Coote returned an evasive answer to the effect that he was prepared to obey the King's orders as soon as His Majesty was in a position to enable him to do so with safety. Coote at the moment was not strong, having been deserted by some of the officers who had served under Sir Robert Stewart. Enniskillen had been seized and Sir William Cole imprisoned by the deserters, who had declared for the King.

Baffled in this direction, Ormonde now turned to Michael Jones, the Parliament's Governor of Dublin, to whom he made a pathetic representation of the sufferings of the late King. Jones, who was loyal to his own party and daily expected reinforcements, turned a deaf ear to his arguments, and contented himself with replying that Ormonde himself was to be blamed for the death of Charles, inasmuch as by his activities in Ireland he had, while the treaty of Newmarket was pending, convinced everyone of the King's insincerity and driven to desperate measures the party in power. This was deeply disappointing to the Lord-Lieutenant, who had

anticipated being without delay at the head of a formidable army. He had calculated on 4000 Irish foot and 800 horse from Munster, with 3000 foot and 600 horse under Inchiquin, with like numbers of horse and foot from Leinster and Connaught, and 5000 foot and 500 horse from Owen Roe O'Neill, "if he would come in". O'Neill, as we have seen, did not come in, and from the other provinces Ormonde collected but a small portion of the 20,000 foot and 3500 horse which in imagination he had counted, and even when his hopes were to a small extent realized, he was obliged to borrow money on his own credit to enable his army to march.

Hostilities commenced about the beginning of May. Castlehaven, at the head of 2000 Munster men, succeeded in reducing "several small places" in Leinster, including Maryborough and Athy, in which either O'Neill or the Parliamentarians had placed garrisons. The Presbyterians of the north decided to act against the Parliament, and under their commander, Lord Montgomery of Ardes, they besieged Sir Charles Coote in Londonderry. Sir George Munro, who had received a commission from the King to command in Ulster, joined the Marquis of Clanrickard in reducing the Parliamentary garrisons in Connaught, and then marched to join the Scots in the siege of Londonderry.

Ormonde, having been joined by Inchiquin on the 14th of June, and having received some monetary assistance through Lords Castlehaven and Taaffe, now proceeded with 7000 foot and 3000 horse to besiege Dublin, and advanced almost to the walls, encamping at Finglas, where his tents were visible to the besieged. He then called upon Prince Rupert, who was still with his fleet at Kinsale, to cut off supplies by sea from the capital by blockading the port; but this, Rupert, whose capricious conduct is difficult to understand, could not or would not do. Jones, being thus pressed, and being short of provisions for man and beast, sent, on the 20th of June, most of his cavalry to Drogheda; but they were

attacked on the way and suffered great loss at the hands of Inchiquin, who went in pursuit of them with a strong body of horse. Inchiquin was then detached with 2000 foot and 1500 horse to beleaguer Drogheda, which was bravely defended for seven days by a small garrison of 600 men, who were, however, on the 28th, compelled, by want of ammunition, to surrender, and were permitted to go where they pleased. The majority marched to Dublin, some joining Jones and some Ormonde.

O'Neill meanwhile, with 3000 men, lay encamped near Dundalk. In May he had offered, if he could obtain some powder, to help Coote, and, having been refused, he now approached Monck, who declared his willingness to give the powder if O'Neill sent for it. O'Neill agreed, and arranged for the transfer; but although the distance from town to camp was only seven miles, and an escort of 500 men under Lieutenant Farrell was provided, Colonel Trevor, acting under Inchiquin's orders, swooped down on the convoy, and, killing most of the soldiers, captured the stores. From some of the prisoners Inchiquin learned that Dundalk was by no means strong, and he therefore resolved to besiege the town. Here he was joined by a large body of Scots under Lord Montgomery of Ardes. Dundalk would probably have held out had not an underfed, unpaid garrison compelled Monck at the end of two days to surrender it.

Coote was still holding out in Londonderry, and Owen Roe again approached him, offering him assistance. Coote now consented to supply him with thirty barrels of gunpowder, with sufficient match, and also to give him 300 beeves or £400 in money, and, these terms being agreed to, O'Neill marched to his relief. Ormonde in the meantime had, on the 2nd of August, been defeated and his army utterly routed by Jones, who followed up his victory by advancing suddenly to Drogheda. Lord Moore, who commanded the garrison, made a brave defence, and Ormonde,

having collected 300 horse, marched to Trim, whereupon Jones found it politic, on the 8th of August, to raise the siege of Drogheda and return to Dublin. These movements had a disquieting effect upon the Scottish forces besieging Londonderry, and on the approach of O'Neill the Scots marched away, compelling Lord Montgomery of Ardes to raise the siege at the very moment when the garrison of the bulwark of the north was reduced to the last extremity.

Charles was now at the Hague, uncertain what course to pursue. He had long been promising to visit Ireland, but want of money and other impediments had prevented him, the States refusing him a loan unless he went to Scotland and took the Covenant. Pressing invitations to Ireland reached him from Ormonde, who backed them up by sending Lord Byron to induce him to come over; but Byron found Charles surrounded by Scottish lords, who opposed the Irish visit, and who used all their influence in favour of the King's repairing to Scotland.

On the 28th of March, 1649, by a unanimous vote of the Parliament in England, Oliver Cromwell had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in that country. He accepted the command with reluctance, stipulating that the soldiers should be satisfied both as to pay and to arrears; saying that unless this was done he had no hopes of success in a campaign in Ireland. Money wherewith to pay the soldiers having been found, it was decided to send 12,000 men to Ireland. The rising of the Levellers retarded his departure, and it was not until July that he was ready to depart. When the army, consisting of 9000 foot and 4000 horse, reached the coast for embarkation, difficulties in procuring transports for the troops caused a further delay. At last, "about five of the clock" on Tuesday, 10th July, 1649, "the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland began his journey; by the way to Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly

been seen; himself in a coach with six Flanders mares, whitish gray; divers coaches accompanying him; and very many great Officers of the Army; his Lifeguard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a Commander or Esquire, in stately habit."

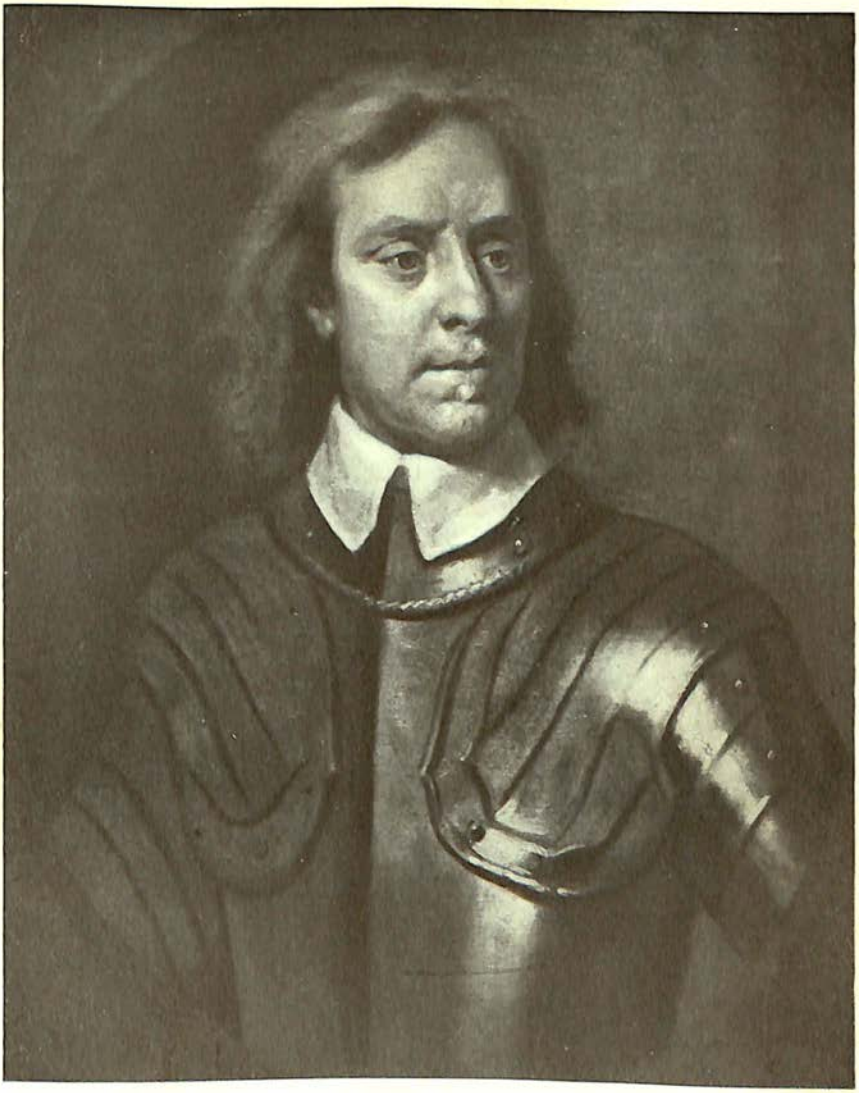
Cromwell arrived at Bristol on the evening of Saturday, the 14th. He stayed there for several weeks, awaiting the sum of £100,000, making his preparations, and gathering his forces. At the end of July he left Bristol, going by Tenby and Pembroke to Milford Haven, where he embarked. On August the 13th, before sailing, he wrote "from aboard the *John*", commenting on "the happy news" of Ormonde's defeat, and rejoicing over it as "an astonishing mercy". Two days later, after a passage during which he was, as Hugh Peters tells us, "as sea-sick as ever I saw a man in my life", he landed at Ring's End, near Dublin, having with him 3000 men in thirty-five ships, Ireton following with a larger and stronger division in seventy-seven ships.

On his arrival in Dublin, Cromwell lost no time in assuming the authority of his office of Lord-Lieutenant, proceeding at once to regulate all civil and military affairs, and to offer indemnity and protection to all who would submit to the Parliament. He published two proclamations, one against profane swearing and drunkenness, the other prohibiting his soldiers, under the severest penalties, "to abuse, rob and pillage, and execute cruelties upon the Country People". He then committed the government of the city to Sir Theophilus Jones, and took the field on the 30th of August with a well-provisioned army of 10,000 picked men, his object being to take Drogheda.

Ormonde, when he had rallied after his defeat at Dublin, proceeded to garrison Drogheda with 2000 foot and 300 horse, all tried and picked men, and to victual it for a long siege. He judged rightly that Drogheda, a frontier town of the utmost importance for establishing communication with

Ulster, would be the first object of Cromwell's attack, and he therefore increased its powers of resistance as much as possible. He appointed a Roman Catholic governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, who had distinguished himself in the English Civil War as governor of Reading and Oxford. Ashton was incapacitated to the extent of having lost a leg, the result of a fall "when curvetting on horseback in Bullingdon Green before certain ladies", and it would seem that he was subject to worries from the fair sex, for he was troubled by ladies in Drogheda who persisted, notwithstanding his instructions to the contrary, to correspond with Dublin, and to employ as their messenger a boy "of too small a size to be hanged". Ashton's troubles were, however, destined to increase, for on the 2nd of September Cromwell was close to Drogheda awaiting his guns. Sir Arthur, nothing daunted, and confident in his strength, wrote to Ormonde, who was at Trim, prepared to retire in the hope of forming a junction with Inchiquin, that he "would find the enemy play; and the garrison, being select men, was so strong that the town could not be taken by assault; and therefore", he advised him, "to hazard nothing by precipitating himself" to his relief. Cromwell's infantry now appearing, and the Boyne being forded by them, the Drogheda garrison sallied forth and drove them back, a success which increased the governor's confidence, and encouraged him to make a further sally on the 7th, which was also successful.

On Monday, the 9th of September, the English guns opened fire, and a summons was sent in to the governor to deliver over the town to the Parliament, Cromwell writing: "To the end effusion of blood may be prevented, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same into my hands to their use. If this be refused you will have no cause to blame me." Ashton did not reply, and Cromwell commenced by beating down a tower and the steeple of St. Mary's Church, in which a gun had been placed that annoyed him. He selected this



OLIVER CROMWELL

From the painting by Samuel Cooper

point for attack because, though the defences here were most formidable, yet once taken it afforded a more secure lodgment for the first assailants than any other point in the fortifications. Some of the siege-guns carried shot of sixty-four pounds weight, and the cannon of the defenders must therefore have been quite overmatched.

On Tuesday two formidable breaches were made in the south and east walls, rendering it possible at about five o'clock in the evening for Colonel Castle, with some 600 men, after a desperate assault, to effect an entry. The garrison fought with great courage, and the besiegers were quickly driven back through the breach, with the loss of Castle and several of his officers and men. Cromwell himself now entered the breach at the head of a reserve of infantry, who carried the church and some trenches which the defenders had made inside the walls. After a desperate struggle, in which, owing to the ground being too steep, Cromwell's horse could not render assistance, the garrison were driven "into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them were ordered", by the general, "to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action", he "forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the Town", and thus about 2000 men were slain the night Drogheda was stormed.

A party of about 100, who had taken refuge in the wooden steeple of St. Peter's Church, and refused to surrender, were suffocated by Cromwell's ordering the tower to be fired. Others, who had fortified themselves, some in a tower at St. Sunday's gate and some in a round tower near the west gate, being half-starved, surrendered next day; and it being proved that fatal shots had been fired from one of these towers, the "officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped

for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes", Cromwell being "persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret."

CHAPTER XIV

Cromwell's Campaign in Ulster

Cromwell's Religious Emotion—The Spirit in which he waged War—The Storming of Drogheda—Cromwell's Reports—Anthony à Wood's Narrative—No Quarter given—Ormonde and Owen Roe come to Terms—Death of Owen Roe O'Neill—Coleraine taken by Coote—Belfast capitulates—Henry and Daniel O'Neill in the South—Major Henry O'Neill taken Prisoner—"General Farrell and his Ulsters"—Carrickfergus surrenders to Coote and Venables.

"History," says Froude (who cannot be accused of loving the Irish), "ever eloquent in favour of the losing cause—history, which has permitted the massacre of 1641 to be forgotten, or palliated, or denied—has held up the storming of Drogheda to eternal execration." In what way history can be said to have forgotten the massacres of 1641 it would be difficult to determine. Miss Hickson's two volumes contain evidence and arguments on the subject never likely to be forgotten. There is no doubt that Cromwell, in his desire to "save much effusion of blood", spilled a great deal; but it is difficult in our day, when the majority of mankind have exchanged "a life of faith diversified by doubt" for one of "doubt diversified by faith", to fully realize or heartily sympathize with the spirit of a Cromwell—the spirit of one who believed himself the chosen instrument of God to be the avenger of innocent blood. The spirit of religious toleration was then unknown, and the war waged by Cromwell was pre-eminently a religious war. The religious spirit pervades and permeates even the records of the historians who chronicle the events of the campaign—chronicles in which no trace of the bias which springs from sentiment should be visible.

Without cultivating a spirit of aloofness we must, in considering the drama enacted at Drogheda, fraught as it is with human emotion—

> . . . sit as God holding no form of creed,
> But contemplating all.

That the religious element was everywhere prevalent is seen in a statement by Cox, to which he draws special attention. "One thing", he says, "is very remarkable, and ought not to be omitted, and that is, that though there were several protestants in the town, yet were the popish soldiers so insolent and so unjust to their protestant companions, even in the midst of their adversity, that on Sunday the eighth of September (the day before the attack) they thrust the protestants out of St. Peter's church in Drogheda, and publicly celebrated mass there, though they had monasteries and other convenient places besides for that purpose." St. Peter's, it must be remembered, was the church in the timber-constructed steeple of which a party of about 100 perished through Cromwell's ordering the building to be fired, the Lord-Lieutenant himself reporting to the Parliament that "It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the Town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there: and in this very place near 1000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, brother to the Lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a Lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Friar; but that did not save him."

Among the English soldiers who were present at this siege was Thomas, brother of Anthony à Wood, the well-known historian of Oxford, whose reproduction of Thomas's reminiscences Lecky held to be a "vivid and most authentic glimpse of this episode of Puritan warfare", contributed by an "accurate and painstaking writer". Mr. Richard Bagwell dismisses "the stories attributed to Thomas Wood" because they "rest entirely on hearsay evidence, and Thomas was a noted buffoon". No student of English literature, however, can accuse Anthony of levity, and, with all due deference to Mr. Bagwell, it is scarcely likely, therefore, that he would have chronicled his brother's utterances regarding his experiences in Drogheda had he not implicitly believed them to be true. He relates in his autobiography how Thomas "would tell them of the most terrible assaulting and storming of Tredagh, where he himself had been engaged.

"He told them that 3000 at least, besides some women and children, were, after the assailants had taken part and afterwards all the town, put to the sword on September 11 and 12, 1649, at which time Sir Anthony Ashton, the governor, had his brains beat out and his body hacked to pieces. He told that when they were to make their way up to the lofts and galleries of the church and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child and use it as a buckler of defence when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brained. After they had killed all in the church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choisest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these, a most handsome virgin arraid in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to Thomas Wood with tears and prayers to save her life, and being stricken with a profound pitie, he took her under his arm, went with her out of the church with intentions to put her over the works to shift for herself, but a soldier perceiving his intentions he ran his sword through

her . . . whereupon Mr. Wood, seeing her gasping, took her money, jewels, &c., and flung her down over the works."

It must not be forgotten that Cromwell's soldiers "were not soldiers merely: they had entered the service on the understanding, that their wages were to be Irish lands. They were to take the place of those among the native proprietors who by rebellion had forfeited their holdings." They had therefore the very best of reasons for exterminating their opponents, otherwise they might not be able to hold in peace such lands as they acquired in payment of their wages. Rebel and royalist alike sank under the sword of Oliver Cromwell.

A postscript to his dispatch of the 17th of September, giving particulars of the siege, contains a line to the effect that: "Since writing of my Letter, a Major who brought off forty-three horse from the Enemy told me that it's reported in their camp that Owen Roe and they are agreed". This statement was a little premature, but it was true that negotiations between Ormonde and O'Neill were in active progress. Ormonde had recognized, after his defeat at Dublin, that if he continued to oppose Cromwell he could only do so with the active assistance of Owen Roe, and accordingly he approached the Ulster chieftain, who undertook to supply him with 6000 foot and 800 horse on condition that Ulster should be included in the Peace and that O'Neill himself should be general of that province. These terms were agreed to, and in October Ulster troops to the number of 1500 were sent under Castlehaven to the relief of Wexford, then besieged by Cromwell; but O'Neill was ill and unable to lead them himself.

While encamped before Londonderry, where he remained about ten days after raising the siege on the 8th of August, he was seized with illness, "an unexpected fit of sickness in my knee", and was conveyed in a horse litter to Bally-

haise, in County Cavan, on reaching which he ordered his nephew, Lieutenant-General Hugh Duv O'Neill, to lead the promised reinforcements to Ormonde. He was then carried to Cloughoughter, a strong castle of the O'Reillys in Lough Oughter, in Cavan, from which, on the 1st of November, he dispatched a letter to Ormonde. "Being now in my death-bed", he wrote, "I call my Saviour to witness that, as I hope for salvation, my resolution, ways, and intentions from first to last of these unhappy wars tended to no particular ambition or private interest of my own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservation of my religion, the advancement of His Majesty's service, and just liberties of this nation, whereof, and of my particular reality and willingness to serve your Excellency (above any other in this kingdom), I hope that God will permit me to give ample and sufficient testimony in the view of the world ere it be long." He died on the 6th of November.

The death of Owen Roe O'Neill was commonly ascribed to a disease of the foot caused by "a pair of russet-leather boots" imbued with poison, with which he had been presented by one Plunket of Louth, which he wore at a ball given by Sir Charles Coote at Londonderry. Plunket, it is said, boasted of the service which he had rendered to England by thus dispatching O'Neill. It is not unlikely that O'Neill's death was accelerated by the maledictions of the Nuncio Rinuccini, who had excommunicated him. His nephew, Daniel, indeed hints as much when he refers to "the excommunication which has so troubled that superstitious old uncle of mine in his sickness that I could render him to no reason". Daniel O'Neill was a native of Ulster and a Protestant. The remains of the great general of Ulster were interred in the old Franciscan monastery of Cavan, of which no vestige now remains. By his contemporaries he was held in high esteem for his "honor, constancy and

good sense", and the best testimony to his military skill is the pronouncement of Marshal Schomberg's secretary, who declared that "Owen Roo O'neale was the best general that ever the Irish had".

Ormonde, on hearing of the storming of Drogheda, hastily retreated from his quarters round Trim towards Wexford and Kilkenny, giving orders to the garrisons left behind to burn and abandon Dundalk and Trim; but the garrisons, on Cromwell's approach, fled in consternation, leaving all their stores and ordnance to the enemy. Cromwell then set out for Dublin, but before doing so, sent Colonel Venables to co-operate with Coote and reduce the northern garrisons. Venables, on the 18th of September, presented himself before Carlingford, which contained the largest magazine in Ulster, and soon reduced the fort, in which he found seven pieces of cannon, about a thousand muskets, with forty barrels of powder, and nearly five hundred pikes. He then marched with a party of horse and dragoons to Newry, which surrendered without resistance. In proceeding to Lisburn he was surprised by 800 horse under Colonel Mark Trevor, who nearly gained a complete victory; but Venables' men regained their composure and Trevor was beaten off, and Lisburn in consequence was taken. Belfast capitulated four days after Venables appeared before it, and 800 Scots were afterwards turned out of the town, "whither they had brought their wives and children to plant themselves there". Coleraine fell into the hands of Coote, who subsequently drove Sir George Munro from the counties of Down and Antrim, and by the end of November Carrickfergus, Charlemont, and Enniskillen were the only considerable Ulster garrisons not in the hands of the Parliament.

It is not our province to accompany Cromwell on his campaign through the south of Ireland, where his progress was a series of successes—Wexford, New Ross, Carrick-on-Suir, Kilkenny yielding to his victorious arms, while Cork,

Kinsale, and Youghal declared for the Parliament, and joined him—but note may be taken of the actions in which the Ulster forces took part. On the 25th of October, 1649, Cromwell wrote from Ross an official communication to the Speaker, in which he said: "Ormonde is at Kilkenny, Inchiquin in Munster, Henry O'Neill, Owen Roe's son, is come up to Kilkenny, with near 2000 horse and foot, with whom and Ormonde there is now a perfect conjunction. So that now, I trust, some angry friends will think it high time to take off their jealousy from those to whom they ought to exercise more charity." Which reference is to the jealousy exhibited towards the Parliamentary party for having countenanced Monck in his negotiations with Owen Roe. The dying Irish general had commended, with his last breath, his son to Ormonde, and had sent him with one of his favourite officers, Lieutenant-General Farrell, to join him with 500 of the Ulster army. Ormonde had both Henry and Daniel O'Neill serving under him, and sent the latter in December with 2000 men to Carrickfergus to reinforce Lord Montgomery of Ardes and Sir George Munro, but they arrived too late. Castlehaven prolonged the siege of Wexford by introducing 1500 Ulster foot, and at New Ross, a week later, managed with Ormonde and Montgomery to ferry 2500 men into the town in sight of the irate Commander-in-Chief. On the 14th of November Cromwell wrote: "We lie with the Army at Ross. . . . Owen Roe's men, as they report them, are six thousand foot, and about four thousand horse, . . . and they give out they will have a day for it:—which we hope the Lord of His mercy will enable us to give them, in His own good time." In the same letter the writer says: "From Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaught, I had a letter, about three or four days since, That he is come over the Bann, and hath taken Coleraine by storm; and that he is in conjunction with Colonel Venables, —who I hear hath besieged Carrickfergus; which if through the mercy of God it be taken, I know nothing considerable

in the North of Ireland, but Charlemont, that is not in your hands."

From Cork a month later the Speaker received an official communication in which details of the difficulties encountered were given, but there was "some sweet at the bottom of the cup;—of which I shall now give you an account. Being informed that the Enemy intended to take-in the Fort of Passage, and that Lieutenant-General Ferral with his Ulsters was to march out of Waterford, with a considerable party of horse and foot, for that service,—I ordered Colonel Zanchy [Sankey], who lay on the north side of the Blackwater, to march with his regiment of horse, and two pieces of two troops of dragoons to the relief of our friends. Which he accordingly did; his party consisting in all of about three hundred and twenty. When he came some few miles from the place, he took some of the Enemy's stragglers in the villages as he went; all which he put to the sword: seven troops of his killed thirty of them in one house. When he came near the place, he found that the Enemy had close begirt it, with about Five hundred Ulster foot under Major O'Neil; Colonel Wogan also, the Governor of Duncannon, with a party of his, with two battering guns and a mortar-piece, and Captain Browne, the Governor of Ballihac, were there. Our men furiously charged them; and beat them from the place. The Enemy got into a place where they might draw up; and the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for the time a good resistance: but the horse, pressing sorely upon them, broke them; killed near an Hundred upon the place; took Three-hundred-and-fifty prisoners—amongst whom, Major O'Neill, and the officers of Five-Hundred Ulster foot, all but those which were killed. . . . Ferral was come up very near with a great party to their relief; but our handful of men marching toward him, he shamefully hasted away, and recovered Waterford."

From Cromwell's report already quoted we learned that

Coote and Venables were besieging Carrickfergus, in which General Thomas Dalziel held his own, bravely agreeing to surrender on the 13th of December if not relieved earlier. Montgomery of Ardes and George Munro marched to his relief, but they were routed by Sir Charles Coote, "upon a boggy pass on the plain of Lisnesreane", and Sir Theophilus Jones, rising from Lisburn with a large body of cavalry, completed the work, over 1000 being killed. Daniel O'Neill arriving too late, Munro and Montgomery took refuge in Charlemont, and Carrickfergus surrendered.

CHAPTER XV

The Last Efforts of Ulster

Depth of Religious Emotion displayed—The Presbytery of Belfast and the Covenant—John Milton replies to the Presbytery and attacks Ormonde—Ecclesiastical Meeting at Clonmacnoise—The Bishops' Declaration answered by Cromwell—Hugh Duv O'Neill defends Clonmel—Cromwell leaves Ireland, and Ireton takes Command—Changed State of the Country—Ever MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, succeeds to Command of Ulster—His "Confident Victorious Catholic Army of the North"—He takes Toome and Dungiven—Is defeated at Letterkenny and hanged—Henry O'Neill put to death by Coote.

To understand thoroughly the depth and intensity of the religious emotion which formed so striking a feature of the national life at this period, and which was indeed, not alone the mould of its thought, but the mainspring of its actions, it is necessary (in order to possess the intelligent sympathy, without which all study of history is useless) to endeavour to realize how thoroughly genuine was the general expression of belief. The very bitterness of the opposing parties is proof of their sincerity. No *doubt* blurred their mental vision, no element of uncertainty ever entered into their calculations regarding time or eternity. The exponents of each creed set forth its dogmas in stern array, to be accepted without demur. Each Church believed that it alone had ascertained and assimilated the "eternal verities", and that it alone had received the divine injunction to propagate the truth even at the point of the sword. The very idea of religious toleration was in itself intolerable.

The evidence of the spirit which animated all religious bodies at this time may be seen in the declaration made by the

Presbytery of Belfast on the 15th of February, 1649, when they issued what they deemed *A Necessary Representation of the Present Evils and Imminent Dangers to Religion*, by means of which they hoped to overthrow those who "labour to establish by laws an universal toleration of all religions", "lest our silence should involve us in the guilt of unfaithfulness, and our people in security and neglect of duties". Universal toleration of all religions the Belfast Presbytery held to be "an innovation overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, the two first articles of our solemn covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves have, with their hands, testified to the most high God, sworn and sealed it". All who had departed from the Solemn League and Covenant were accused of having embraced "even Paganism and Judaism, in the arms of toleration", and they were solemnly advised to forsake their evil ways "lest God give them over to strong delusions (the plague of these times) that they may believe lies and be damned". Finally the Presbytery warned those whom they addressed, to refrain from "combining themselves with papists and other notorious malignants".

The design of the Presbytery, advanced under guise of a homily to those in their care, did not deceive Milton, who was employed by the House of Commons to deal with the Ulster presbyters and also with the articles of the Ormonde Peace. Of the Presbytery of Belfast ("a place better known by the name of a late barony, than by the fame of these men's doctrine or ecclesiastical deeds",) the Latin Secretary made short work: "'Their duty', they say, 'to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account.' What mean these men? Is the presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent, that their voices cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts, far

beyond the diocess of Patrick or Columba, their written representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding their own flock? Or do they think to oversee, or undertake to give an account for, all to whom their paper sends greeting?" And the poet proceeds to attack them with their own weapons: "St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus thinks it sufficient to give charge, 'That they take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which they were made overseers', beyond those bounds he enlarges not their commission. And surely when we put down bishops and put up presbyters, which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors, we did not think, that one classic fraternity, so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state affairs within the censure and jurisdiction of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge." Finally the Presbyters are dismissed with contumely for having opened "their mouths, not 'in the spirit of meekness', as like dissemblers they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood, as any Irish rebel could have uttered, and from a barbarous nook of Ireland brand us with the extirpation of laws and liberties; things which they seem as little to understand, as aught that belong to good letters or humanity".

But we must now return to the Lord General whom Ormonde had rashly compared to John of Leyden, thereby bringing down on himself the heavy wrath of Milton, who accuses him of having acted "contrary to what a gentleman should know of civility", in thus proceeding "to the contemptuous naming of a person, whose valour and high merit many enemies more noble than himself have both honoured and feared; to assert his good name and reputation, of whose service the commonwealth receives so ample satisfaction, . . . that Cromwell, whom he couples with a name of scorn, hath done in few years more eminent and remarkable deeds, whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting, and

perpetual renown to posterity, than Ormonde and all his ancestors put together can show from any record of their Irish exploits, the widest scene of their glory"; with which orotund utterance of the "great organ-voice of England" we may dismiss the subject.

After the reconciliation of O'Neill and Ormonde, Ever MacMahon, titular Bishop of Clogher, who was devotedly attached to the Ulster chief, became a firm supporter of Ormonde. At a meeting of twenty bishops, who assembled at Clonmacnoise on the 4th of December, 1649, to consider the deplorable state to which the country had been reduced by war and pestilence, the prelates published *Certain Acts' Declarations* enjoining in the most earnest manner union and amity among both clergy and people, and stating that "we hereby manifest our detestation against all such divisions between either Provinces or families, or between old English and old Irish, or any of the English or Scotch adhering to His Majesty". They further let "the people know how vain it was for them to expect 'from the common enemy commanded by Cromwell, by authority from the rebels of England', any assurance of their religion, lives, or fortunes"; and finally besought "the gentry and inhabitants, for God's glory and their own safety, to the uttermost of their power to contribute, with patience, to the support of the war against that enemy".

To this declaration the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland replied in a counter-declaration, "Given at Youghal, January, 1649" (1650), in which he challenged "the Irish Popish Prelates and Clergy of the Conventicle at Clonmacnoise" to "give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished, concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done", and gives the reasons, that all men may know them, for the visitation of the English forces to Ireland: "We are come to ask an account of the

innocent blood that hath been shed; and to endeavour to bring to an account,—by the blessing and presence of the Almighty, in whom alone is our hope and strength,—all who, by appearing in arms, seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of a company of lawless Rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to Human Society; whose principles, the world hath experience, are, to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come, by the assistance of God, to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English Liberty in a Nation where we have an undoubted right to do it;—wherein the People of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits; to use 'their' liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms." Finally the Lord-General declares his belief that "if ever men were engaged in a righteous Cause in the world, this will be scarce a second to it".

Kilkenny, towards which Cromwell marched early in March, was garrisoned by Lord Dillon with 1000 foot and 200 horse; but the city being visited by the Plague, one-half Dillon's army, which consisted of Ulster men, deserted, saying they were willing to fight against men but not against God. Kilkenny capitulated on March the 27th, and Cromwell proceeded to Carrick. On the 27th of April the Lord-General presented himself before Clonmel, of which the governor was that "old surly Spanish soldier", Hugh Duv O'Neill, nephew of Owen Roe, who had with him "Two thousand foot, all Ulster men", and who relied on Ormonde's promise that he would "draw all the forces of the Kingdom into a body for the town's relief". The Royalist Lord-Lieutenant made a brave effort to keep his word, but was thwarted by the Commissioners of Trust, and, all other sources failing, Clonmel was left unaided notwithstanding the "humble suit" of O'Neill, "that the army, if in any reasonable condition, may march night and day to our succour".

The preservation of Clonmel was almost Ireland's last hope, and O'Neill's gallant northerners fought with the energy of despair. The assault was made at an early hour on the 9th of May, the storming-party entering with ease. Once inside the walls they were, by O'Neill's ingenuity, caught in a trap, those in front being compelled to enter by the onward rush of those behind until the place "was full and could hold no more". Then O'Neill's guns began to play on the invaders, raining chain-shot upon them, "so that in less than an hour's time about a thousand men were killed in that pound, being atop one another". But at length night put an end to the conflict, of which it was said by an eyewitness "that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, either in England or Ireland". His ammunition being exhausted, O'Neill, with the garrison, under cover of darkness, cleared out of the town and withdrew to Waterford. Here, finding that the Plague was in both camp and city, the surly old Spaniard bade his Ulster infantry to shift for themselves, while he and his cavalry proceeded to Limerick, of which city later he was made the governor.

Cromwell lost 2500 men at Clonmel, where he found "the stoutest Enemy this Army had ever met in Ireland". He had already received pressing dispatches from Parliament urging him to hasten his return, as his services would be required to brave the storm which was breaking in Scotland. He surrendered the command of the army in Ireland to his son-in-law, Major-General Ireton, who already held the appointment of Lord President of Munster, and who succeeded him as Lord-Lieutenant. He left Ireland on the 29th of May, and received, on the 4th of June, the hearty thanks of the House of Commons "for his great and faithful services unto the Parliament and commonwealth".

The ten months of Cromwell's presence in Ireland had produced a great alteration in the position of affairs. Owen

Roe's death had left not alone Ulster, but the whole country, without a leader. Ulster itself lay completely at the mercy of the English. Several attempts were made before Cromwell's departure, and immediately after, to embarrass the movements of the army which was engaged in the task of subduing Munster, by creating diversions in Ulster, but they were all nullified by the vigilance of Venables. In April reinforcements enabled Coote to take the field more actively, and to approach the borders of Westmeath; and when Castlehaven, with such troops as he could collect, marched north to arrest his progress, he was obliged to retire before the combined forces of Sir Charles and Venables, who had joined him. Castlejordan, Kinnegad, Ardmullin, Trim, and Doneraile fell successively into the hands of the English commanders. John Hewson, who succeeded to the governorship of Dublin on the death of Michael Jones, and Commissary-General John Reynolds, having laid siege to Enniskillen, Castlehaven made an attempt to relieve it, but was defeated, and the fort therefore surrendered. Charlemont was now the only strong place in Ulster left in the hands of the Irish.

Attempts were made to combine the Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic Royalists of Ulster with the purely Irish under the Marquis of Clanrickard, with the view of offering a more solid resistance to the Parliamentary forces, but through the jealousy of the two parties they failed, the Irish refusing to follow any leader save one of their own election, or to march in the same ranks with heretics. Ormonde, under his agreement with Owen Roe O'Neill, was now called upon to give the command in Ulster to the person nominated by the nobility and gentry of the province, and a meeting was held in March at Belturbet for the purpose of electing a leader. The candidates were Sir Phelim O'Neill, Henry O'Neill (Owen Roe's son), General Farrell, and Ever MacMahon, titular Bishop of Clogher, with the result that the bellicose Bishop, who,

according to a military authority of the period, was "no more a soldier fit to be a general than one of Rome's cardinals", was elected, and his commission signed by Ormonde on the auspicious date, 1st of April. MacMahon's army, according to the Parliamentarian accounts, consisted of 5000 men, "all Irish or Papists, not a Protestant among them, having taken up an opinion that they should never prosper till they had cleared their army of all Protestants". Among their thirty officers were Sir Phelim and Henry O'Neill, and another prelate, the Bishop of Down, who served in the rank of Colonel. Thus led, "the confident victorious Catholic army of the North", as MacMahon styled his followers, commenced its career.

Early in May, Toome was taken by surprise and Dungiven by assault. The latter town was defended by Colonel Beresford and only sixty men. When the assault was carried, the victorious Bishop, despite his threat as conveyed in a letter to Beresford—"If you shed one drop of my soldiers' blood, I will not spare to put man, woman, and child to the sword"—permitted Beresford, who was wounded, to be conveyed to Charlemont, while his wife and Lady Coote were sent to Limavady. The Bishop now attacked Ballycastle, which was taken without resistance and garrisoned, and the Catholic army, now increased to 4000 foot and 400 horse, returned to Lifford, where MacMahon gained admission by displaying the commission he had received from Ormonde.

On the return journey from Ballycastle to Lifford, MacMahon's forces encountered those of Coote, which were much inferior in numbers, and in the skirmish which ensued two of Coote's captains were killed and he himself was compelled to retire. Irish-like, the Bishop-General did not follow up this success, or he might have annihilated Sir Charles's small body of men, who had, in order to escape, to pass through a boggy defile; thus he enabled Coote to retire and collect forces from the surrounding district, 1000 men being sent

to him by Venables from Belfast, a large contingent also being sent to his aid from Enniskillen.

MacMahon now made a fatal error by scattering his forces, sending a large detachment to take the distant castle of Doe on Sheephaven, and smaller ones to forage about the country; so when he took up a position on a hill near Letterkenny he had not with him more than 3000 foot and 400 horse, whereas Sir Charles Coote, who marched against him, had now about 2500 men. The Irish were posted on a mountain-side "inaccessible to either horse or man"; but on the enemy's appearance, on the 21st of June, 1650, the Bishop, blindly confident in his superiority of numbers, and rejecting the advice of his most experienced officers, Henry O'Neill among them, descended to meet the foe on ground "which was extreme bad". There followed an hour's hard fighting, the Irish being defeated with great slaughter, chiefly through the great superiority of the English cavalry. Some 3000 were killed, the routed Irish being pursued for thirty miles, few escaping the swords of Coote's pursuing horse. The Bishop of Down, Lord Enniskillen, and a number of distinguished officers and heads of Ulster clans were slain on the field—a sad but fitting "sequel of making the Bishop a general that was nothing experienced in that lesson", for thereby, "for want of conduct and prudency in martial affairs he lost himself and that army that never got a foil before he led them". Coote lost only one officer and about 100 men.

The Bishop, with some 200 horse, fled to Enniskillen; but, the noise of his coming preceding him, Major John King sallied out and attacked his small force with some fresh horse and took MacMahon prisoner. Sir Phelim O'Neill escaped to Charlemont, but Henry O'Neill was captured on the field. MacMahon was kept some time in prison, and finally was hanged, his head being fixed upon one of the gates of Londonderry. Henry O'Neill also was put to death by Coote.

CHAPTER XVI

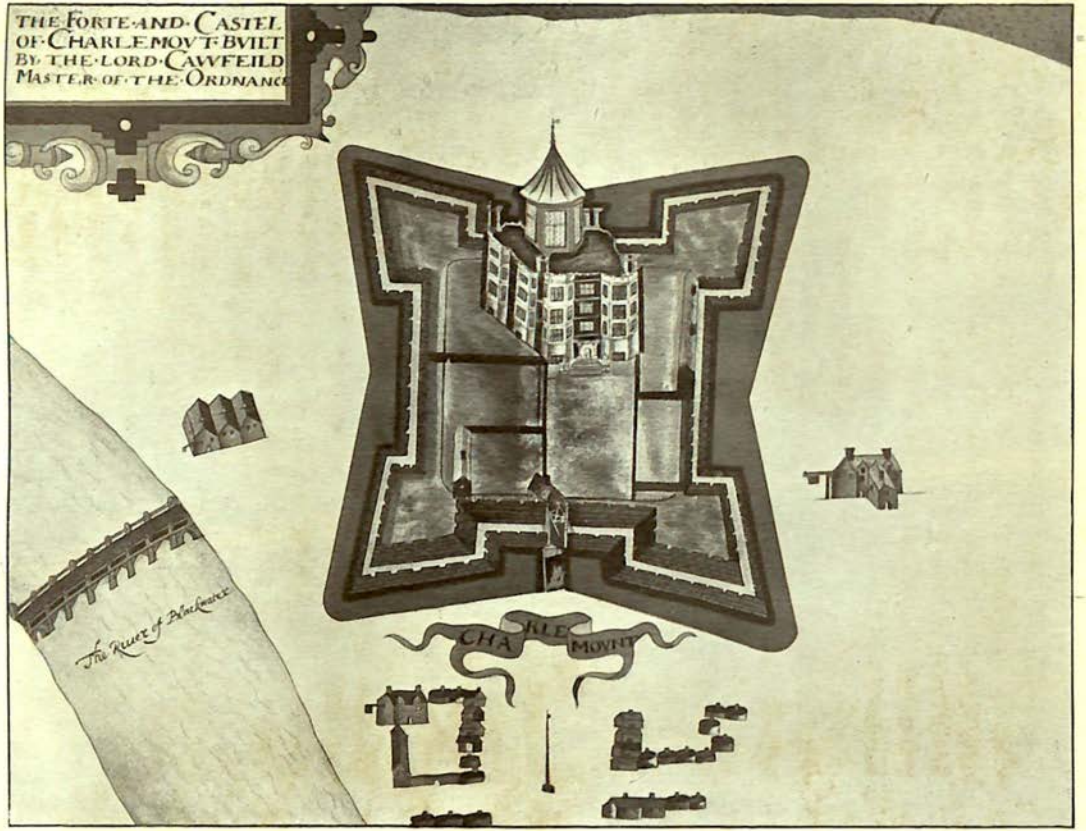
Charles II repudiates the Peace

Charlemont the Last Stronghold of the Irish in Ulster—Is besieged by Coote and Venables—After a Desperate Defence it surrenders—The Dunfermline Declaration of Charles II—The King's Defence of the Declaration—He repudiates "the Irish Rebels"—Ormonde excommunicated—He applies to the Commissioners of Trust—The Roman Catholic Clergy accept Clanrickard as Lord Deputy—Ormonde leaves Ireland—Negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine—Agreements signed, but come to naught.

The strong fort of Charlemont was now all that remained in the hands of the Irish in Ulster. The fort had been taken in a most treacherous manner on the 23rd of October, 1641, by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who approached the fortress in a friendly fashion with a large retinue, for whose presence he apologized. Being welcomed by the governor, young Lord Caulfeild, and by his recently widowed mother, Sir Phelim invited himself to dinner. At the conclusion of a hospitable entertainment Sir Phelim's followers, at a preconcerted signal from their chief, seized and bound Lord and Lady Caulfeild, and surprised and disarmed the unsuspecting garrison. Lady Caulfeild and her children were removed as prisoners to O'Neill's house at Kinard, and later were "kept at a stone house near Braintree woods", from which they were rescued by Captain Rawdon during the following summer, when O'Neill's house was attacked during his absence and burnt to the ground. Lord Caulfeild was kept a close prisoner at Charlemont until the 14th of January, 1642, when Sir Phelim ordered him to be removed to the Castle of Cloughoughter in

Cavan. The first halting-place of the escort was at Sir Phelim's house at Caledon, where it was proposed to stay the night, and as Lord Caulfeild was entering the gate he was shot in the back "with a brace of bullets" by Edmund O'Hugh, a foster-brother of Sir Phelim, under whose directions some dozen of Caulfeild's English and Scottish followers were also slaughtered. Sir Phelim O'Neill was said to be in Kilkenny at the time of this murder, and to have been sorely distressed at it. A contemporary writer states that "Sir Phelim O'Neale, at his return, caused his foster-brother and two or three villains more to be hanged who were conspirators in the death of the Lord Caulfeild", but later evidence seems to show that the assassin was allowed to escape.

After the defeat of the Irish under Ever MacMahon, Sir Charles Coote determined to take Charlemont, and early in July, 1650, having been joined by Venables, he proceeded to besiege this the last stronghold of the Irish in Ulster. The defence was desperate, even the women taking part, and in the frenzy of their efforts acting more "like fighting Amazons than civilized Christians". While the walls of the beleaguered fort were subjected to a constant cannonade in the hope of effecting a breach, the assailants were, whenever they attempted an escalade, greeted, in addition to a hail of bullets, with an irruption of glowing embers or a cataract of scalding water. Even when a breach was effected, red-hot ashes and boiling water proved to be powerful weapons in the hands of infuriated women, and the storming-party were beaten back after several hours' severe fighting. Coote, with characteristic sang-froid, contented himself, as Commander-in-Chief, by directing operations without taking part in them, and finally, being satisfied with the progress made, sat placidly in his saddle "smoking of tobacco at distance". Here he was approached by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who, finding his ammunition running short, and having only thirty men left fit to continue the fight, deemed it wiser to come to terms. The



CHARLEMONT FORT

From a drawing in the British Museum

siege had now lasted over a month, Coote had lost at least 500 men, and he was therefore glad to comply with any reasonable request. Terms accordingly were arrived at whereby the dogged defenders of Charlemont were allowed to march out of the fort with their arms and baggage and Sir Phelim himself permitted to depart on condition that he left Ireland. Thus on August the 14th, 1650, Ulster passed completely into the hands of the Parliament.

If anything further were needed to eradicate all Royalist proclivities in the province that additional stroke came two days later, when on the 16th the King, at Dunfermline, signed a declaration pronouncing the Ormonde Peace to be null and void, stating that he was conscientiously convinced of the "exceeding great sinfulness and unlawfulness" of it, and of allowing the Irish the liberty of the Popish religion; for which he did from his heart desire to be "deeply humbled and affected in spirit before God". He deplored "the idolatry of his mother, the toleration whereof in the King's house, as it was matter of great stumbling to all the Protestant churches, so could it not but be a high provocation against Him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children". Finally he repudiated "the bloody Irish rebels, who treacherously shed the blood of so many of his faithful and loyal subjects in Ireland".

There is only one satisfactory solution of the problem presented by Charles's conduct: he was the son of his father. In addition to his being a striking illustration of—

> How heredity enslaves,
> With ghostly hands that reach from graves,

he exhibited in a superlative degree the results of his tutelage in turpitude. Not naturally depraved, he was nevertheless not rigidly righteous, and being morally colour-blind he failed to recognize the lines of demarcation between right and wrong, and all his life he cultivated alike with careless

indifference "the lilies and languors of virtue, and the roses and rapture of vice".

With the terms of the peace which he repudiated at Dunfermline the King was perfectly familiar, he having written, when they were submitted to him, to the effect that he was "extremely well satisfied" with them. Now, when approached on the subject by an emissary from Ormonde, he endeavoured to palliate his procedure by blaming the Covenanters. "The Scots", he said, "have dealt very ill with me, very ill. . . . I much fear that I have been forced to do some things which may much prejudice [my Lord of Ormonde]. You have heard how a declaration was extorted from me, and how I should have been dealt withal, if I had not signed it. Yet what concerns Ireland is no ways binding, for I can do nothing in the affairs of that kingdom without the advice of my council there; nor hath that kingdom any dependence upon this, so that what I have done is nothing."

When the signing of the declaration at Dunfermline became known in Ireland, the clergy talked openly of withdrawing their allegiance from the King and forming a fresh confederation. Ormonde, who had, under circumstances into which we need not enter, been excommunicated, and had therefore been repudiated by the clerical party, at once addressed himself to the Commissioners of Trust, and summoned a general assembly, which met at Loughrea on the 15th of November, while he himself remained about ten miles distant, at Kilcolgan. To the Commissioners he explained in writing that the Dunfermline declaration must have been "by some undue means obtained from His Majesty", and stated that he was resolved, notwithstanding, "to insist upon and assert the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace by virtue of the aforesaid authorities, and that the said peace is still valid, of force, and binding to His Majesty and all his subjects. And herein we are resolved, by the help of God, to persist, until that we and such as shall in that

behalf be entrusted and authorized by the nation shall have free and safe access to His Majesty, and until upon mature and unrestrained consideration of what may on all sides be said, he have declared his royal pleasure upon the aforesaid affronts put upon his authority."

In reply to his communication the Commissioners expressed their readiness to concur with Ormonde's wishes, their disapproval of the conduct of the clergy, and their willingness to proceed to Galway to expostulate with them. They accordingly sent their representatives to the bishops at Galway, who, on the 5th of November, returned an answer exhibiting all the fierce spirit which they had displayed when the Papal Nuncio was in the height of his power. They declared their intention, as Charles had "thrown away the nation from his protection as rebels", to pay no further obedience to the King's authority, and to return to the Confederacy. They refused to annul the excommunication of Ormonde, but agreed to accept Clanrickard as his deputy.

The General Assembly met at the time appointed, but it was evident that the clergy, who now led the people, had finally broken with Ormonde, and he therefore determined to leave Ireland; and having applied to the Duke of York, in Jersey, for means to do so, was supplied with a vessel of twenty-four tons and four guns. On December the 7th a declaration was sent to the royalist Lord-Lieutenant in which "the archbishops and bishops" stated that "by their excommunication . . . they had no other aim than the preservation of the Catholic religion and people, and did not propose to make any usurpation on His Majesty's authority", for they conceived "that there is no better foundation and ground for our union, than the holding to and obeying His Majesty's authority, to which we owe and ought to pay all dutiful obedience". Finally they begged the Lord-Lieutenant "to leave that authority with us in some person faithful to His Majesty and acceptable to the nation", and Ormonde, as

requested, appointed Clanrickard his Lord Deputy, expressing at the same time a hope that their professed allegiance to the Crown implied full obedience to the Deputy. This done, Ormonde, accompanied by Inchiquin, Bellings, Daniel O'Neill, Colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Warren, and other officers, set sail for France on the 11th of December, 1650. Commissioners soon after were deputed by Parliament to treat with the Assembly of Bishops for a final submission of the nation, on favourable terms; but the extreme Royalists would not agree to such an arrangement, although the Irish decidedly sacrificed their interests in rejecting it.

Ulster now being entirely under the iron hand of the Parliament, any activity exhibited by the country was almost exclusively confined to the south. In the new year a project was started to mortgage Galway, Limerick, Athenry, and Athlone to the Duke of Lorraine, who in 1646 had proposed to send 10,000 men to England to help Charles I, and whose assistance had been requested by the Irish clergy in 1649, when Duncannon Fort had been offered as security for a loan of £24,000. The negotiations hung fire until Duncannon fell into Ireton's hands, when they naturally came to an abrupt termination. The Duke was next approached in November, 1650, by Taafe, acting under instructions from Ormonde. Meanwhile, as an envoy from the Duke, the Abbot of St. Catherine's arrived in Galway about the end of February, 1651; but Clanrickard thought his demands exorbitant, and Sir Nicholas Plunket and Geoffrey Browne were sent to Flanders to treat with the Duke himself. The Bishop of Ferns, representing the clerical element, went on the same errand, and prevailed on Plunket and Browne to "go on cheerfully in the contract", with the result that, disregarding the instructions they had received from Clanrickard, they signed, in the name of "the kingdom and people of Ireland", an agreement with the Duke of Lorraine, according to which he was to be invested with royal powers under the title of

Protector of Ireland, he on his part undertaking to prosecute the King's enemies, and to restore the kingdom and the Roman Catholic religion to their pristine power and state.

This agreement was signed without Clanrickard's consent or cognizance, and no reference was made in the document to the Lord Deputy, who on his part covenanted with the Duke's agent, the Abbot of St. Catherine's, that the Duke should give £25,000 on the security of Limerick and Galway, and of the whole nation generally, but without binding any person's separate estate. It was also provided that "in case of pressing necessity for the public service of the kingdom, the Lord Deputy may make use of his power as hitherto accustomed". Notwithstanding all these agreements and arrangements little or nothing was done save that the Duke of Lorraine did actually give £20,000 for Ireland; but, as in all such transactions, there was a great deal of waste, and in the end "the sheer money came far short of the first mouthful". The Abbot "returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the Duke such an account of his voyage and people that put an end to that negociation, which had been entered into and prosecuted with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use". The affairs of Charles II were reduced to an almost hopeless state after the battle of Worcester (3rd September, 1651). The towns in Ireland offered as security soon fell under the power of the Parliament, and the Duke of Lorraine, contenting himself by vigorous abuse of Clanrickard, left Ireland to her fate.

CHAPTER XVII

Close of the Cromwellian Campaign

Ulster being subdued, Coote marches South—The Siege of Limerick—Hugh Duv O'Neill surrenders—Is twice sentenced to Death, but is acquitted—Death of Ireton—O'Neill sent to the Tower—Is released and sails for Spain—Coote repairs to Galway—Clanrickard summons O'Reilly from Ulster—Clanrickard surrenders—Various Submissions—Fleetwood lands—Ludlow superseded—The Last Stand of Ulster—Castleoughter surrenders—O'Reilly of Ulster submits—Sir Phelim O'Neill captured near Charlemont—He is tried in Dublin and hanged—The Rebellion and War in Ireland proclaimed to be at an End.

The Parliament had as yet no footing on the Clare side of the Shannon, and as the English army, to some extent rehabilitated, and having recruited during the winter, was ready for an early campaign, Ireton determined on the reduction of Limerick, and began his operations although provisions and clothes were scarce. To invest the city on all sides it was necessary to march into Connaught and to capture Athlone. As Leinster and Ulster were now considered safe, Sir Charles Coote, with the forces under his command in Ulster, was directed to cross the Erne near its mouth, and to turn the line of the Shannon. With 2000 horse and nearly the same number of foot Coote marched against Sligo; but when the whole attention of the Irish of Connaught was occupied with the threatened danger to Sligo, he suddenly drew off his army, and forcing his passage through the Curlieu mountains, "by strange and unexpected ways undiscovered", presented himself before Athlone. Clanrickard, in the midst of faction and discontent, saw the importance of this place, and made an attempt to relieve it,

but too late, for it surrendered on 18th June, before he could collect his forces, and Coote marched towards Galway.

Ireton appeared before Limerick on the 3rd of June on the Clare side of the Shannon, and proceeded to lay siege to the city. Limerick, owing to the strange infatuation of Hugh Duv O'Neill, who had been for some time its Governor, persisted to the last in its foolhardy opposition to the wishes of Ormonde and Clanrickard to garrison it. When the Lord Deputy, aware that all the hopes of his party depended on the preservation of Limerick, offered to enter it with an army and share the fate of the citizens, his proposal was rejected by the surly old Spanish soldier, who was confident in his ability to defend the city single-handed. His authority, however, was, when the sufferings of the inhabitants became more acute during the siege, rendered nugatory by the corporation and magistrates, and at length negotiations were commenced for a capitulation. Finally, on the 27th of October, Colonel Fennell and others were sent to seize St. John's Gate and the adjoining tower. O'Neill remonstrated, but Fennell said he had orders from the mayor and chief citizens, and, having the keys, he admitted 200 of Ireton's men, and the articles of capitulation were signed.

It being no part of our province to dwell on this siege, it may here be dismissed, save in so far as it concerns Hugh Duv O'Neill. He was one of the last of that great Ulster clan who had played an important part in Irish history, and he proved himself worthy of the name he bore. He rode out of the plague-stricken city alone and delivered up his sword to Ireton himself, ignoring, as he mounted his horse, the attitude of Fennell, who threatened him with a pistol. Ireton treated him personally with courtesy, but he had, by his defence of Clonmel and his prolongation of the siege of Limerick, provoked the Lord-Lieutenant too much to expect mercy. He was tried, and defended himself with ability and acumen. He was sentenced to death, but

as he had always shown himself to be a brave soldier and an honourable foe, many of the officers, including Ludlow, expostulated; whereupon Ireton, "who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own opinion", consented to a second trial, when the life of the gallant O'Neill was saved by a single vote. He was acquitted and sent to the Tower, where he was well treated. Ireton died of the Plague at Limerick on the 26th of November, and, by a strange coincidence, his remains, which had been embalmed, were placed on board the same vessel as that which bore O'Neill to England. The Spanish Ambassador, having represented that O'Neill was a subject of the King of Spain, Hugh Duv was discharged from the Tower on the 1st of April, 1652, and ended his days in Spain as commander of Irish soldiers recruited for the Spanish service. A short time before he died he wrote, after the Restoration, to Charles II, drawing His Majesty's attention to the fact that the death of John O'Neill, his cousin, made him Earl of Tyrone, and begging the King to acknowledge his claim to the title. This, of course, Charles could not do, and the title was not revived until twenty years later. Cromwell is said to have specially recommended Hugh Duv O'Neill as a good soldier to King Philip IV.

Sir Charles Coote had in the meantime obtained some successes over the Irish, and he now marched into County Clare to join Ireton, who, having appointed Sir Hardress Waller governor of Limerick, left that city on the 4th of November to proceed against Galway. Here Ireton contracted the Plague, of which he died, as already stated, at Limerick. Galway, which was on the point of capitulating, on learning of the death of Ireton gained fresh courage, and applied for assistance to Clanrickard, who immediately repaired to it. Ludlow, who had been appointed to the chief command by the Commissioners of Parliament in

Dublin, was joined by Coote, and proceeded early in February, 1652, against Galway, which on the 12th of May surrendered almost at the first summons. Clanrickard had summoned forces from Ulster to his aid, but the summons was for the most part disregarded.

Clanrickard now burned his boats by sending away Castlehaven in his only frigate, thus leaving himself no means of escape. He summoned Lord Westmeath and O'Farrell from Leinster, Muskerry from Munster, and O'Reilly from Ulster, to join him in Sligo or Leitrim, and "unite in one clear score for God, our King and country". The King had given Clanrickard permission to leave Ireland when he thought fit to do so, but at the same time added significantly that "the keeping up of the war there in any kind, either offensive or defensive, is of the highest importance to us and our service that can be performed; as the contrary would be of the greatest prejudice to all our designs". Venables, receiving "one clear call" from Coote, came up from Down to join him. They took Sligo and retook Ballyshannon and Donegal, which had been taken by Clanrickard, who struggled to the last; and by the end of June, finding himself surrounded by the enemy in the island of Carrick, he accepted a pass from the Parliament with leave to transport himself and 3000 of his followers for foreign service. Thus was the last vestige of royal authority withdrawn from Ireland. The few detached garrisons which the Irish still held were reduced in succession, and the isolated leaders who continued under arms made terms for themselves and their followers. Colonel John Fitzpatrick was the first to lay down his arms in this way; Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer and Turlogh O'Neill followed, and the Earl of Westmeath and Lord Enniskillen acted in a similar manner. One of the last to submit was Colonel Richard Grace, with whom 1250 men laid down their arms. Lord Muskerry surrendered the strong castle of Ross, near Killarney, to Ludlow on

the 22nd of June, when 960 able men marched out of the castle.

Early in August Ludlow marched into Ulster and garrisoned Carrickmacross. Near Dundalk, he tells us, he discovered a cave in which a number of the Irish had taken refuge. They refused to surrender, and an attempt was made to smoke them out; but when the soldiers entered, deeming them to be dead, their leader was shot by one of the refugees. Careful inspection of the surrounding district proved that the cave was ventilated by a hole at a distance. The hole being stopped up by Ludlow's orders, "another smother was made", and the fumigation was continued for a time; after which, "the passage being cleared, the soldiers entered, and, having put about fifteen to the sword, brought four or five out alive, with the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to water that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike." To prevent the cave being again used as a domicile, Ludlow had the entrance filled with rocks. Posts were established at Agher and Castle Blayney, Lisnaskea was fortified, and Belturbet, in which a few Irish still held out, was taken.

Fleetwood, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland on July the 10th, landed at Waterford early in September, being joined in the civil administration by four commissioners—Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, the member for Stamford, Ludlow stating that he was glad to be superseded, his administration having been "recompensed only with envy and hatred".

The last stand made in Ulster by the Irish was in the island of Lough Oughter. The Castle of Cloughoughter, in which Bedell had died in the first year of the war, and in which Owen Roe O'Neill expired eight years later, surrendered on April the 27th, 1653, the articles being signed

by Sir Theophilus Jones and by Philip O'Reilly on behalf of himself and the other Ulster chiefs still remaining under arms.

The Parliamentary Commissioners began their administration by erecting a High Court of Justice in Dublin under Chief-Justice Lowther, who issued commissions to find and examine witnesses in the country. The object was to try those who were accused of having taken part in the massacres of 1641. So many, however, of the perpetrators of the outrages had either perished in the course of the war or had fled the country, that it was found impossible to bring them to justice, and in consequence, in all Ireland, not more than a couple of hundred were found guilty. The investigations caused by this tribunal resulted in the capture of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who, instead of leaving Ireland as arranged after the surrender of Charlemont, had concealed himself in Tyrone. Early in 1653, in order to communicate with Lady O'Neill, who continued to reside at Charlemont, he established himself on an island in Roghan Lough, near Coalisland. Here he maintained himself in an old house, having with him Tirlogh Groom O'Quin and some twenty soldiers.

Lady O'Neill, a daughter of the first Marquis of Huntly, in sending supplies to Sir Phelim, employed a messenger from Charlemont, and thus attracted the attention of Lord Caulfeild, whose predecessor, it will be remembered, was murdered by Sir Phelim's foster-brother in 1642. Naturally desirous to bring O'Neill to justice, Caulfeild took steps to secure him, and, having surrounded the little lake with soldiers, he had boats launched upon it, the crews of which speedily captured Sir Phelim and his bodyguard and conveyed them to Carrickfergus. Here O'Neill was received by Venables, who treated him with courtesy while in his hands, sending him and his companions to be tried in Dublin.

On arrival at Dublin it was found unnecessary to detain

any of Sir Phelim's followers save Turlogh O'Quin, and they were accordingly set at liberty. On February the 28th O'Neill was tried for high treason and murder. He was not accused of actual murder, but of being an accessary before the fact or of having given orders to the actual assassins. It had been said that he acted under a commission from Charles I, and that he had shown the commission to his followers.

Sir Phelim confessed to having made use of such a commission, but he asserted that it was forged by himself, and that he had never received any commission or order from the late King. He said that when he seized the fort of Charlemont he found in the muniment room there a patent with a broad seal attached to it, that he had caused the seal to be detached and affixed to a pretended commission which had been written to his dictation in the King's name, and he produced in court the person who had been employed to stitch on the cord of the seal.

The judges were still dissatisfied, and repeated attempts were made to induce O'Neill to confess further, in which hope a promise was made to him that he should be restored to liberty and to his estates if he produced sufficient proof that he had received such a commission from the late King; but he denied ever having received a royal commission. Michael Harrison, who saved his own life by acting for a time as secretary to Sir Phelim, confessed in open court that he attached the Great Seal to a sham commission. The same witness swore that in December, 1641, he heard O'Neill say, "with great ostentation, that he would never leave off the work he had begun until mass should be sung or said in every church in Ireland, and that a Protestant should not live in Ireland, be he of what nation he would".

Sir Phelim O'Neill was condemned to death, and maintained on the scaffold the truth of his assertion regarding the bogus nature of the commission. In his last moments, when

SIR PHELIM O'NEILL

From a print in the British Museum

appealed to privately to confess the facts, he stood forward, and, raising his voice, said: "I thank the Lord-Lieutenant for his intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and His holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any commission from the King for levying or prosecuting this war".

O'Neill was the only one who suffered in Ulster. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered, one quarter being impaled at Lisburn, which he had burned; another at Dundalk, which he had taken; a third at Drogheda, which he had besieged in vain; and the fourth, with his head, at Dublin, which he had plotted to surprise. O'Quin was executed later, and his head set upon the west gate of Carrickfergus.

On the 26th of September, 1653, it was publicly declared, in a proclamation by Fleetwood and his brother Commissioners, that the rebellion in Ireland was subdued and the war in Ireland ended.

CHAPTER XVIII

A "Wild and Woeful Land"

Sad State of the Conquered Country taken over by the Commonwealth—Mountjoy's Methods approved by Colonel Jones—Colonel Richard Laurence's Picture of Desolation—Effects of the Plague—Great Increase of Wolves—The Perils of Priesthood—Children seized and shipped to the Barbados—Attempts to extirpate the "Tories"—Food at Famine Prices—Petty's Survey of Ireland —The Act of Settlement.

Of the Ireland which was taken over by the Commonwealth, thus chastened and subdued, it might well be said in a sorrowful sentence culled from the volume to which the Puritans most readily referred: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate". Ludlow himself, who had been obliged in his high office to contribute not a little to the spreading of desolation and then designating it peace, speaks of the "poor wasted country of Ireland". War, and pestilence, and famine had swept over the land, leaving "leagues on leagues of desolation" and of death. "About the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had swept away whole countries that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or bird, they being either all dead or had quit those desolate places."

The methods of Mountjoy in subduing the Irish, by destroying the means of subsistence, were apparently approved of by one at least of the Commissioners, for Colonel Jones expressed the opinion that no lasting peace could be obtained "but by removing all heads of septs and priests and men of knowledge in arms, or otherwise in repute, out of this land, and breaking all kinds of interest among them, and by

laying waste all fast countries in Ireland, and suffer no mankind to live there but within garrisons". Whole districts were in this way laid waste, the officers boasting that "we have destroyed as much as would have served some thousands of them until next harvest", thereby so reducing the wretched people who had inhabited the ruined region "that they were at length entirely subdued without condition to any save for life".

This rigorous rule could have but one result, "great multitudes of poore swarming in all parts of this nacion, occasioned by the devastation of the country, and by the habits of licentiousness and idleness which the generality of the people have acquired in the time of this rebellion; insomuch that frequently some are feeding on carrion and weeds—some starved in the highways, and many times poor children who lost their parents, or have been deserted by them, are found exposed to, and some of them fed upon, by ravening wolves and other beasts and birds of prey". Not alone did wild beasts devour human beings, but human beings, Colonel Richard Laurence assures us, were driven in their hunger and despair to cannibalism.

While war and famine claimed their thousands, the Plague claimed its portion. Several places were attacked by this dread enemy. "It fearfully broke out in Cashel, the people being taken suddenly with madness, whereof they die instantly; twenty died in that manner in three days in that little town." The Plague attacked Limerick and Galway and many other places, and, as we have seen, one of its victims was Lord-Lieutenant Ireton. Though even Dublin did not escape the ravages of this dread disease, it does not appear to have gained as many victims in Ulster as in Munster and Connaught. Two-legged and four-footed enemies abounded. There were "many desperate rogues who know not how to live but by robbing and stealing out of bogs and fastnesses", and wolves had so largely increased in numbers that a price

was laid on their heads, "five pounds a head if a dog, and ten pounds if a bitch". Money was paid by the Treasury to various persons "for providing of toyles for taking of wolves", and passes were given permitting certain persons, with their servants, fowling-pieces, powder, and bullets, to proceed without hindrance through the country "for the killing of wolves". The dread beasts were so numerous and ferocious, and such a source of common danger, that the Irish officers whose departure for foreign service was sanctioned were not allowed to take their wolf-hounds with them, a body of tide-waiters at the various ports being authorized to seize the hounds and send them to the public huntsman of the precinct. In some instances lands were leased under conditions of keeping a hunting establishment with a pack of wolf-hounds for killing the wolves, part of the rent to be discounted in wolves' heads, as much as forty shillings being given for the head of every cub "that preyed by himself", and ten shillings for the head of every sucking cub.

But if the wolf in Ireland had now a bad time the Roman Catholic priest had worse. The Puritan Parliament determined that he also should be exterminated, "for what could priests be about but spreading their religion if they staid?" For them, during the war, there was no mercy; when any forces surrendered upon terms, priests were always excepted; priests were thenceforth out of protection, to be treated as enemies that had not surrendered. A price was set on their heads also. For all "Jesuits, priests, fryers, munks, and nunnes, 20*l.* will be given to any that can bring certain intelligence where any of them are. And whosoever doth harbour or conceal any one of them is to forfeit life and estate." This obliged them to fly, and to hide until they heard of some body of swordsmen being ready to sail for Spain, when they would apply to the officers commanding for leave to accompany them.

The Government not alone encouraged the departure of the

priests, but facilitated their movements towards emigration. In some cases commanders, on the surrender of those in arms, covenanted "industriously to solicit the Commissioners of Parliament that such of the clergy in orders, having no other act or crime laid to their charge than officiating their functions as priests, not being suffered to live in quarters or protection, shall have passes and liberty to go beyond the seas". Commissary General John Reynolds did this in Ulster. The Mayor of Dublin was, by order of 19th February, 1652, "desired forthwith to press a fitt and able vessel in this port for the transportation of such a number of the Popish clergy as are to go with Lieutenant-General Farrell for Spain".

But though their departure was thus facilitated, the priests still lingered in the land, loath to leave the scenes where they had striven and suffered, and this in spite of the fact that all Roman Catholic priests were declared to be guilty of high treason, and their relievers felons, and they were themselves commanded, under severe penalties, to forthwith leave the kingdom. Even these penalties did not daunt them, and in consequence of the great increase of priests towards the close of the year 1655 a general arrest by the Justices of the Peace was ordered, under which the prisons in every part of Ireland seemed to have been filled to overflowing. On the 3rd of May the governors of the respective districts were ordered to send the priests, with sufficient guards, from garrison to garrison to Carrickfergus, there to be put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity to the tobacco islands, by which title the Barbados were then popularly known.

At Carrickfergus the horrors of approaching exile seem to have shaken the firmness of some of the priests, for on the 23rd of September, 1656, Colonel Cooper, who had charge of the prison, reporting that "several under their hands renounce the Pope's supremacy, and frequent the Protestant meetings, and no other", he was directed to dispense with the

transportation of such of them as he could satisfy himself would do so without fraud or design, on their obtaining Protestant security for their future good conduct.

Priests were not the only part of the population sent to the Barbados, children of both sexes being captured by thousands and sold as slaves to the tobacco planters of Virginia and the West Indies. Sir William Petty estimates the number of boys and girls sent to the tobacco islands as 6000. Force was needed to collect them, but the Government in England was, nevertheless, assured by their representatives in Ireland that they could have any number of young persons they required. Henry Cromwell wrote from Ireland to Secretary Thurloe: "I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there [Jamaica] and ours here, if you should think fit to send 1500 or 2000 young boys, of 12 or 14 years of age, to the place afore-mentioned. We could spare them, and they would be of use to you." To this letter Thurloe replied: "The Committee of the Council have voted 1000 girls, and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose." The victims appear to have been for the most part the children or the young widows of those who were killed or starved. Though there is no evidence extant that Henry Cromwell's proposal was carried out in its entirety, there is plenty that thousands of boys and girls were forcibly seized, shipped to Barbados, and sold for terms of years to the planters.

Every pretext for clearing the country of its native inhabitants was seized. Those who had no visible means of support, or were descendants of rebels, were marked for immediate transportation. The disorderly elements could not, at once and altogether, be removed. In inaccessible hiding-places, in the bogs and mountains, and in the still dense forests, bands of outlaws still lurked, and, under the name of "Tories", still continued a war of plunder and assassination. Their extirpation was a tedious process. The leaders were identified, and outlawed by name, and when they refused to give

themselves up a price was set upon their heads. The ordinary price for the head of a "Tory" was 40*s*.; but for leaders of "Tories", or distinguished men, it varied from £5 to £30.

Even in the most peaceful districts life was by no means easy. The price of food was very high, for three-fourths of the stock of cattle had been killed, and there was danger of the native stock dying out. Cattle had to be imported from Wales into Dublin. So scarce was meat that a licence was required to kill lamb. In July, 1651, the Commissioners reported that four parts in five of the best and most fertile land in Ireland lay waste and uninhabited, and stated that they had encouraged the Irish to till the land, promising them the fruits of their tillage. Soldiers and officers were encouraged to till the land round their posts, "waste and untenanted lands" being let to officers and soldiers of the garrison "for five years, from 25th of March, 1653, at reasonable rents, free of contribution, on condition that they till and manure, and sow one-third of arable land with corn, and occupy".

Ireland being now, as was well said by Froude, "a blank sheet of paper, on which the English Commonwealth might write what characters they pleased", the Parliament proceeded to cover it with hieroglyphics essentially their own.

The cost of the war was enormous, and the debt must now be paid. It could not be paid in money, and therefore of necessity the liability had to be liquidated by grants of land. This had been understood from the first. In 1642 had been passed the Act for the Speedy and Effectual Reducing of the Rebels in His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland. This Act formed the basis of what is known as the Cromwellian Settlement. Three Acts to explain or extend the original one were passed soon afterwards. Under the Act the English Parliament, in consequence of the dimensions which the rebellion in Ireland had then assumed, confiscated between two and three millions of Irish land. Debenture bonds were issued

payable in land when the country should be reconquered. Six hundred and twenty-five thousand acres were pledged in each province, and the money advanced was to be repaid in land distributed by lot at the rate of 1000 acres in Ulster for every £200; in Connaught for every £300; in Munster for every £400; and in Leinster for every £600. The plantation measure of 1000 acres Irish was equal to 1600 English measure, the rate being reckoned at 12*s.* per acre in Leinster, 8*s.* in Munster, and 4*s.* in Ulster. Bonds for a million acres had been taken up, and money had been raised on them for the troops sent to Ireland previous to Cromwell's campaign, £100,000 having been borrowed by the House of Commons for their own purposes "upon the public faith". Similar debentures were issued later for Cromwell's own army, and were given to the soldiers in lieu of pay. The time had now arrived when these debentures must be redeemed, and with this view the whole country was carefully surveyed by Dr. Petty (afterwards Sir William), and a court was established to examine the claims and assign to each bondholder his share. This was all the more necessary in that many of the bonds had been bartered and sold, and their face value altered by ordinances made from time to time, of which one of the most important was that of the 14th of July, 1643, which doubled the acreage of land to be given for an additional one-fourth of the original subscription.

According to Sir William Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, the surface of Ireland was estimated at 10,500,000 plantation acres, of which 3,000,000 were occupied by water, bogs, and coarse or unprofitable land. Of the remainder, 5,200,000 acres belonged to Roman Catholics and sequestered Protestants before the year of the rebellion in Ulster, 300,000 were church and college lands, and 2,000,000 were in possession of Protestant settlers of the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The Parliament confiscated 5,000,000 acres. This enormous spoil, two-thirds of the whole island, was distri-

buted amongst the soldiers who had served in Ireland in the Cromwellian army, or to those who, as Adventurers, were holders of the debenture bonds and had thus indirectly contributed to the military chest since 1641. There must, however, be deducted from these 5,000,000 acres, 700,000 which were given in "exchange" to the banished in Clare and Connaught, and 1,200,000 confirmed to "innocent Papists".

Petty's survey was known as the Down Admeasurement of Ireland. The work was by no means easy to carry out, for in many places none of the older inhabitants were left who were familiar with the boundary marks, which proved "a great prejudice to the Commonwealth, for want of information of the bounds of the respective territories and lands therein upon admeasurement". The field work was carried on by foot-soldiers selected and instructed by Petty. On one occasion eight of them were seized by "Tories", and by them "carried into the woods, and most barbarously murdered".

On August the 12th, 1652, was passed the Act of Settlement, under which there were four chief descriptions of persons whose status was settled. All ecclesiastics and Royalist proprietors were exempted from pardon of life or estate. All Royalist commissioned officers were condemned to banishment, and the forfeiture of two-thirds of their property, one-third being retained for the support of their wives and children. Those who had not been in arms, but could be shown by a Parliamentary commission to have manifested "a constant and good affection" to the war, were to forfeit one-third of their estates and receive "an equivalent" for the remaining two-thirds west of the Shannon. All husbandmen and others of the inferior sort "not possessed of lands or goods exceeding the value of £10", were to have a free pardon, also on condition of transporting themselves across the Shannon.

Thus in their wisdom did the Commonwealth plan to piece together the puzzle-map of Ireland.

CHAPTER XIX

The Cromwellian Settlement

The Adventurers demand a Settlement—Particulars of their Demands—The Commonwealth appeal to them to colonize—They refuse and make Fresh Demands—A Lottery established in London to satisfy their Claims—Particulars of the Settlement—Connaught reserved for the Irish—The Plantation and Ulster—Attempt to transplant the Presbyterians of Antrim and Down—Transplantation or Transportation—Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy—Death of Oliver Cromwell and Succession of Richard.

The Adventurers, as the subscribers for the debenture bonds issued under the Act of March, 1642, were called, had, as we have seen, a claim to over one million acres for the money advanced for putting down the rebellion, and by the Act referred to and subsequent Acts and ordinances, commonly called "The Acts of Subscription", lands to satisfy the Adventurers must be apportioned before the rest of the country could be disposed of to the army. The Adventurers had been very urgent during the whole course of the war that lands should be assigned to them; the Commissioners in Ireland therefore resolved to set about the scheme of colonization as speedily as possible.

The amount claimed by the Adventurers amounted to £294,095, being £281,812 for original advances and £12,283 under the ordinance of 1643. To satisfy this claim it was necessary to assign 1,038,234 acres. For this purpose it was suggested that an allotment of land should be made in each of the four provinces, and certain counties were selected which, according to the divisions then existing, were Cavan,

Fermanagh, Donegal, and Monaghan in Ulster; Kilkenny, Longford, Carlow, Wexford, and Westmeath in Leinster; Limerick and Kerry in Munster; and Clare, Galway, Leitrim, and Sligo in Connaught. It was also proposed to make a permanent Pale between the Boyne and Barrow, with a strong garrison in Wicklow and another in the south between the Blackwater and the Suir. Having agreed on these matters, the Commissions called upon the Adventurers to attend a Committee of Parliament on the 30th of January, 1652, with a view to a speedy Plantation.

To this the Adventurers raised many objections, stating that no plan was proposed for their security, that the war was not over, and that the "Tories" were still to be found in great numbers—a menace to life and property. They demanded that instead of the lands it was proposed should be allotted to them they should be given a choice of certain portions of Munster and of Leinster, and that they should be granted the city of Waterford. On these points they showed a decided front, and were not to be reasoned with concerning what they deemed their just demands.

The Act of Settlement being of itself only a preliminary step to further legislation, the Commissioners, at the close of 1652, urged upon the somewhat lethargic Long Parliament the advisability of dispatch. "The two great businesses", they wrote early in 1653, "which now lie before us are how to lessen your charge and how to plant the country, but neither of these can be done to any effect till we do hear your pleasure about the Bill before you for giving satisfaction to the Adventurers and also to satisfy the arrears of the soldiers."

Between the expulsion of the Long Parliament, on 20th April, 1653, and the Assembly which constituted itself the Parliament—which will be associated during all time with the unco guid Praise-God Barebone—Cromwell was supreme, and matters with regard to the proposed distribution of confiscated lands were accelerated. A lottery was appointed, as the

Act required, to be held in Grocers' Hall, London, on the 20th of July, the drawing to commence at eight o'clock in the morning. No one lot was to exceed £10,000. Connaught was excluded, and the total to be provided for in the other three provinces was £360,000. This amount was divided into three lots, of which £45,000 was to be satisfied in Ulster, £205,000 in Leinster, and £110,000 in Munster; and the moiety of ten counties was charged with their payment—Antrim, Armagh, and Down in Ulster; Meath, Westmeath, King's County, and Queen's County in Leinster; and Tipperary, Limerick, and Waterford in Munster. The Government reserved to itself towns, church lands, and tithes; the Established Church, hierarchy and all, having been abolished. The four counties of Cork, Carlow, Dublin, and Kildare were also reserved.

Lots were drawn first to ascertain in which province each Adventurer should be satisfied; secondly, to ascertain in which of the ten counties each Adventurer was to receive his land, lots in the aggregate not to exceed in Westmeath £70,000, in Tipperary £60,000, in Meath £55,000, in King's and Queen's Counties £40,000 each, in Limerick £30,000, in Waterford £20,000, and in Antrim, Armagh, and Down £15,000 each. In order to encourage the Adventurers and inspire them with confidence, it was proposed that their holdings should be in juxtaposition to those held by military planters; accordingly instructions were issued to the Commissions "to divide all the forfeited lands, meadow, arable, and profitable pasture with the woods and bogs and barren mountains thereunto respectively belonging into two equal moities", one to pay the Adventurers' and the other the army's arrears. The ten counties mentioned were to be divided, each county by baronies, into two moieties, as equally as might be, without dividing any barony. A lot was then to be drawn by the Adventurers, and by some officer appointed by the Lord-General Cromwell on behalf of the soldiery, to

ascertain which baronies in the ten counties should be for the former and which for the latter.

The rest of Ireland, with the exception of Connaught, was to be set out amongst the officers and soldiers in payment of their arrears, which amounted to £1,550,000, and to satisfy debts of money or provisions due for supplies advanced to the army of the Commonwealth amounting to £1,750,000. The five western counties of Connaught, which are nearly severed by the Shannon from the rest of the kingdom, and form a principality not unlike that of Wales, being reserved and appointed for "the home of the Irish race", all English and Protestants having lands there, who desired to remove out of the province into those inhabited by their fellow-countrymen, were granted estates in the English parts, of equal value, in exchange.

By this "settlement" the end at which the English Adventurers had been aiming was accomplished. All, or almost all, the land of the Irish in the three largest and richest provinces was confiscated, and the province "which rock and morass have doomed to a perpetual poverty, and which was at this time almost desolated by famine and by massacre", was assigned to the "mere Irish", who would, it was hoped, at no distant date conform to the habits, language, and religion of their conquerors. The new inhabitants were there to congregate from all the other provinces before the 1st of May, 1654, under penalty of outlawry and all its consequences; and when there they were not to appear within two miles of the Shannon or four miles of the sea. A rigorous passport system, to evade which was death without form of trial, completed this settlement.

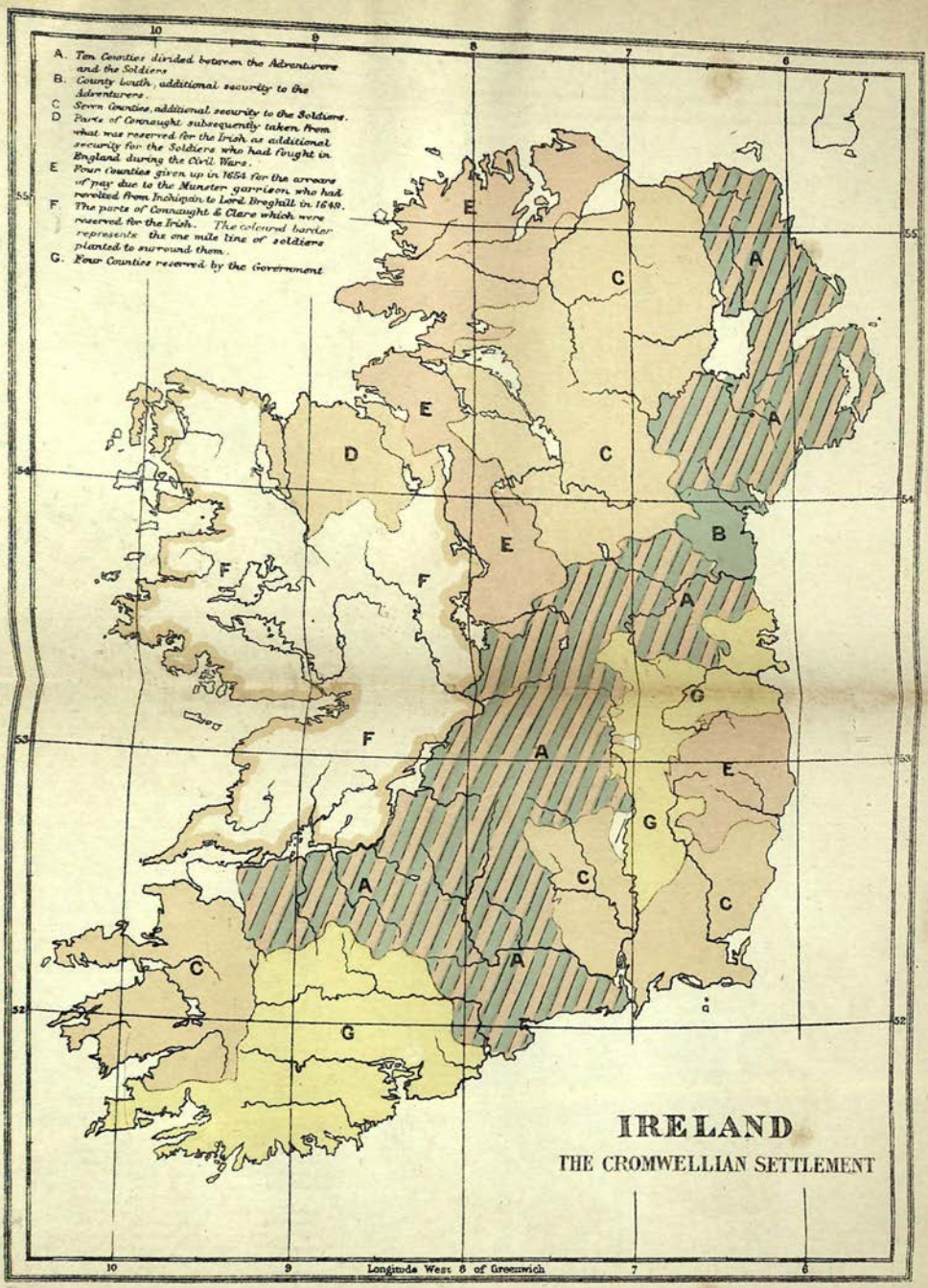
A proclamation was issued on 11th of October, 1652, signed by Ludlow, John Jones, Corbet, and Weaver, stating that "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England having by an act lately passed (entitled An Act for the Settling of Ireland) declared that it is not their intention to extirpate this whole nation, but that mercy and pardon for

life and estate be extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in such manner as in and by the said Act is set forth: for the better execution of the said Act, and that timely notice may be given to all persons therein concerned, it is ordered that the Governor and Commissioners of Revenue, or any two or more of them, within every precinct in this nation, do cause the said Act of Parliament with this present declaration to be published and proclaimed in their respective precincts by beat of drumme and sound of trumpett, on some markett day, within tenn days after the same shall come unto them within their respective precincts".

None of the inhabitants of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, or Donegal were transplanted to Leitrim, as it was held to be too near Ulster, besides being full of fastnesses; and, as a general rule, none of those inhabiting a district within ten miles of the Shannon on one side were permitted to settle near, or have lands assigned to them within the same distance on the other side. Leitrim, however, became filled with the Ulster creaghts. It was the first land they met with on entering Connaught, and they drove their herds of cattle into its mountains and valleys and depastured them, suffering less probably from the transplantation than others, being accustomed to a nomadic life and to pitch their frail temporary dwellings where the pasture suited their herds.

In the case of the soldiers the lands were either selected by authority for them or divided by lot. The regiments were kept together in bodies; the lot determined the situation of individuals. "They were settled down regiment by regiment, troop by troop, company by company, almost on the land they had conquered." Thus, as Clarendon well says, "Ireland was the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed".

In Ulster the proximity of the Presbyterian Royalists of Down and Antrim to the Scottish Highlands was considered


A. Ten Counties divided between the Adventurers and the Soldiers
B. County Louth, additional security to the Adventurers.
C. Seven Counties, additional security to the Soldiers.
D. Parts of Connaught subsequently taken from what was reserved for the Irish as additional security for the Soldiers who had fought in England during the Civil Wars.
E. Four Counties given up in 1654 for the arrears of pay due to the Munster garrison who had revolted from Inchiquin to Lord Broghill in 1649.
F. The parts of Connaught & Clare which were reserved for the Irish. The Coloured border represents the one mile line of soldiers planted to surround them.
G. Four Counties reserved by the Government
10
9
8
7
6
55
54
53
52
Longitude West 6 of Greenwich
IRELAND
THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT

dangerous, and the removal of them was contemplated. A proclamation, dated 23rd May, 1653, against 260 persons was issued, including Lord Montgomery of Ardes and Lord Clandeboye. Sir Robert Adair and other leading Presbyterians were to be sent to Tipperary; but though orders were given for the transplantation nothing was done, Cromwell becoming Protector in December: "he did not force any engagement or promise upon people contrary to their conscience; knowing that forced obligations of that kind will bind no man".

The work of transplantation was a slow process, and it was thought that it might be accelerated by threats of transportation: "And whereas the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of the persons attainted, do remain in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, having little or no visible estates or subsistence, but living only and coshering upon the common sort of people who were tenants to or followers of the respective ancestors of such persons, waiting an opportunity, as may justly be supposed, to massacre and destroy the English who as adventurers or souldiers, or their tenants, are set down to plant upon the several lands and estates of the persons so attainted . . ." it was decided that they should be at once transplanted or be shipped to the English plantations in America. "No one", says Clarendon, "was exported who had not forfeited his life by rebellion; and it was the only way to save them from utter destruction: for such was their humour, that no English man or woman could stray a mile from their homes, but they were found murdered or stripped by the Irish, who lay in wait for them; so that the soldiers, if they had been allowed to remain in the country, would have risen upon them and totally destroyed them."

Fleetwood became Lord Deputy in August, 1654, and in the same year Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son, was appointed to the Council in Ireland; but he did not visit the

country until July, 1655. Two years later, on the 17th of November, he was appointed Lord Deputy, and governed the country with wisdom and moderation. The period of his rule was distinguished only by quiet and gradual progress, and Ireland slowly advanced towards peace and prosperity. In 1655 the corporation of London was again put in possession of the county and city of Londonderry, which had been granted them by James I, and had been violently torn from them through the machination of Wentworth.

On the 3rd of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and Richard, his son, was proclaimed Protector in Dublin on the 10th of October. Four days previously Henry had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant by the new Protector. The death of Oliver opened a field for fresh intrigues among all political parties which still existed undiminished in zeal or animosity. At first Richard received the strongest assurances of support from Ireland, but it soon became evident that a great change was impending, and the party out of power began to prepare for it.

CHAPTER XX

The Restoration

Ireland sick of the Cromwell Government—Welcomes the Prospect of the Restoration—The Army supreme—Coote Ruler of Ulster—Richard Cromwell abdicates—The Royalists seize Dublin Castle—Coote secures Drogheda—Death of the Governor of Carrickfergus—Londonderry submits—Coote appointed a Commissioner for Ireland—He corresponds with Charles, and attends him on his entry into London—Monck appointed Lord-Lieutenant—Coote created Earl of Mountrath—The Irish Parliament meet in Dublin—Presbyterian Members for Ulster—Ormonde returns as Viceroy—The Act of Settlement.

Ireland, like England, was tired of the rigid rule of the Commonwealth and rejoiced at the prospect of the Restoration. Cromwell to her was nothing more than an instigator of incomprehensible cruelty, a bloodthirsty monster who worked without a conscience or any aim save the extermination of the Irish race. On Cromwell's death there was no hand strong enough to hold the reins of government, no commanding personality with whom the people could blend the idea of a leader. There were few like Ludlow prepared to worship an abstraction and call it the republic. The army, after years of war, had grown to be an entity, and an entity possessed of power. The civilian population, and especially the civilian population of Ireland, were sick of the rule of the Roundheads. Of the four provinces, Leinster alone had a leaning towards the Puritans. Ulster under Sir Charles Coote was prepared to do his bidding. His sway over the army in the north was supreme. Munster was at the beck of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, third son of the great Earl of

Cork, an opportunist like his father. He also had great influence with the soldiery in the south. Connaught, filled with Irish refugees from the wrath of Cromwell, was Royalist to the backbone. The hold on power of Henry Cromwell, an amiable as well as an honourable man, was weak, although he too was popular with the army. All the elements that ensure success were in favour of the return of the King.

The reaction commenced in the English House of Commons, in which a large and steady majority favoured the revival of the old civil constitution under a new dynasty, and passed a vote acknowledging the right of those nobles who had taken the side of public liberty, to sit in the Upper House of Parliament without any new creation. This by no means pleased the officers of the army, who regarded it as a straw indicative of the quarter from which the wind of public opinion blew, and believed it to prognosticate the passing of the power of the sword, that power of which they were themselves the embodiment. They therefore allied themselves with the republicans in the House of Commons and forced the new Protector to dissolve the Parliament. Richard Cromwell resisted, though he well knew resistance was useless, for he had no military prestige, and he was hurried towards abdication as helplessly and hopelessly as a snowflake on a swift stream. The Council of Officers then recalled the Rump, or remainder of the Long Parliament, expelled in 1653, which they proclaimed as the supreme power in the Commonwealth, while at the same time it was expressly declared that there should be no first magistrate and no House of Lords. The Parliament, however, forgetful of the fact that it had suffered expulsion and owed its recall to power to the desire of the soldiers, proceeded, headed by Haselrig, to quarrel with the officers, who, led by Lambert, prevailed, and the remnants of the Long Parliament were again expelled in October, 1659.

The Royalists took advantage of these differences to revive

their schemes. Royalist risings took place in various parts of England, but Lambert put them down. In Dublin John Jones, who had been one of the late King's judges, was in command of the army. In Ulster Coote, hearing of an alliance between the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, communicated with Monck, who had declared his adhesion to the Parliament, stating that he intended to "prosecute this business against ambition and tyranny to the last drops of my blood till they be restored". Coote promised Monck his support.

After the expulsion of the Parliament by Lambert, a petition, signed by several officers in the Irish army, was, in January, 1660, presented to John Jones as commander-in-chief, asking him to call a general council of officers to consider the situation. Jones hesitating to do so, the officers decided the question by suddenly seizing the gates of Dublin Castle and taking the commander-in-chief prisoner, and also securing two other of the Commissioners, Corbet and Tomlinson. A declaration for a free Parliament was cried through the streets next morning, and though not fully understood was approved of. No resistance was attempted, for the officers were in possession of the only magazine, which had not long been replenished with some 500 barrels of powder. Sir Charles Coote, who was in Connaught, secured the town and fort of Galway, placed a new governor over them, and, having collected a strong body, consisting chiefly of the old English, who were most attached to the exiled royal family, surprised Athlone and marched to Dublin. Drogheda in the north and Limerick in the south were taken with equal facility. Broghill held Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale. The garrisons of Cork and Waterford took the same course, and declared for a free Parliament; and the submission of Londonderry settled the question in Ulster. Colonel Cooper, the governor of Carrickfergus, died suddenly in his chair, and thus a possible source of trouble in the north was

removed. Sir Hardress Waller became by common consent commander-in-chief.

Monck, who was in Scotland in October, had been joined in his march south by Fairfax at York in December, and had been welcomed by the Irish Brigade in England when he reached Leicester. In February he entered London at the head of a force of 5000 and declared for a free Parliament. The Presbyterians, who had been expelled by Colonel Pride, returned, and the Long Parliament, having appointed a new one composed chiefly of Cavaliers and Presbyterians, finally dissolved itself. Broghill, Coote, and Major William Bury were appointed Commissioners for the Government of Ireland, and they summoned a convention to meet on the 7th of February. The places represented were as in Wentworth's time. The assembly was almost wholly Protestant. Sir James Barry, later Lord Santry, was chosen Speaker.

Sir Hardress Waller, frightened by an order from the Council of State to the Convention bidding it dissolve, which it refused to do, seized the Castle with the intention of holding it; but the leaders of the Convention, having gained public confidence, easily overawed the garrison and secured Waller and his supporters, and sent them prisoners to England.

Coote now sent Sir Arthur Forbes, a noted Royalist, who had been with Montrose, to Brussels with an offer of his services, and Charles gladly accepted them, offering an earldom and other benefits, and proposing to join him, "except it be more necessary that I go for England". Broghill also approached Charles, while he kept up at the same time a correspondence with Thurloe.

Charles II was proclaimed King at the gate of Westminster Hall on the 8th of May, 1660. He was proclaimed in Dublin on the 14th, and on the 25th he landed at Dover, making his public entry into London on his birthday, May the 29th, when Broghill and Coote and others from Dublin attended him. Monck was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and

Lord Robartes (afterwards Earl of Radnor) Lord Deputy, but neither of them came over; and at the end of the year Sir Maurice Eustace, who had been made Lord Chancellor, was appointed Lord Justice, with Coote and Broghill as colleagues. In September Coote was made Earl of Mountrath and Broghill Earl of Orrery.

Naturally the subject of most moment in Ireland was the question of reparation to those who, having suffered for their loyalty to the royal cause, looked to the King in hopes of having their loyalty rewarded by having their lost estates restored to them. In the autumn of 1660 a Commission sat at Westminster to consider their claims, and counsel were heard on their side. The case presented many and great difficulties. The land had, it was true, been taken with violence from those who were professedly Royalists, but the debentures for payment of which it was taken had originally been issued to raise money to quell an Irish rebellion against the power and authority of the King. That the money had been devoted to other purposes did not affect the validity of the loan, for the Act under which it had been raised had been confirmed by Charles I, and the King could not disavow his father's act. His obligations to Ireland, however, were many and great, and he determined, therefore, to recognize them as far as possible. The result was a compromise. The Cromwellians were induced to relinquish a third part of their acquisitions, and the land thus surrendered was somewhat capriciously divided among claimants whom the Government chose to favour, with the inevitable consequence that great numbers who protested that they were innocent of all disloyalty, and some who boasted that their loyalty had been signally displayed, obtained neither restitution nor compensation.

After an interval of nearly twenty years the Irish Parliament met in Dublin on the 8th of May, 1661. In the interval, so great had been the change that out of 260 members

there was but one Roman Catholic. The exertions of the Presbyterians had resulted in the election of a few to represent Ulster, and in the Lords the Presbyterian interests were supported by Sir John Clotworthy, now created Lord Massareene.

The feeling with which the opening of Parliament was regarded by members of the Government is well expressed in a letter addressed by Orrery to Ormonde (now raised to a dukedom) on the day on which the House met. "His Majesty", he writes, "having empowered the Lords Justices to appoint a fit person to be Speaker of the House of Lords, my Lord Chancellor has proposed to us the Lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best a cold friend to the declaration; which made me propose my Lord Primate [Archbishop Bramhall, the great supporter of Laud's high-church principles under Wentworth], well known in the orders and proceedings of that House (having sat in two Parliaments), a constant eminent sufferer for His late and now Majesty, and that in such a choice we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as to church government. Besides it was but requisite the church, which had so long suffered, should now (in the chief of it) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My Lord Chancellor for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my Lord Primate sat in that character.

"The Lord Santry's strange passionate carriage at it in the Council, his indiscretion towards my Lord Mountrath as well as His Majesty himself; your Lordship in my next shall have account of. His Majesty in the honour of his letters to us of the 11th of March last ordered us to see Sir William Domville settled Speaker of the House of Commons here. This letter was not given us till the 27th of April last, at which time it was impossible to signify to the King what we humbly thought most advantageous to his service,

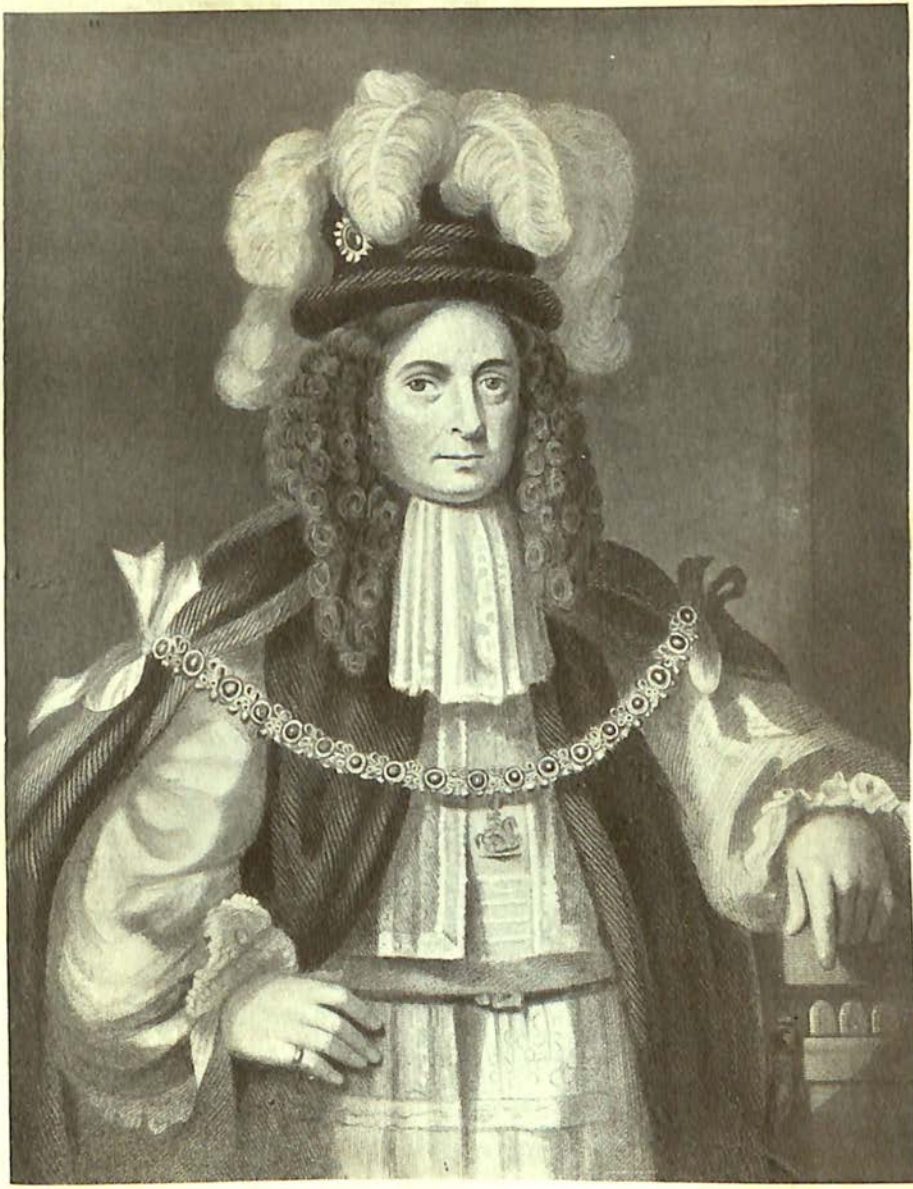
and timely enough to receive his royal pleasure therein; but having had some private notice of that concealed letter a few days before, it occasioned a letter to a friend in England, which produced His Majesty's letters of the 30th of April, received the 5th inst., empowering us to approve of whom we should think fit. Yesterday in full council it was resolved, since only two were in nomination (Sir William Domville and Sir Audley Mervyn), that it was best to leave the choice of either to the House itself, which this day was done; and notwithstanding several arts were used, yet this afternoon Sir Audley was chosen Speaker, and is to be presented us to-morrow to be approved. Those that opposed it would not, after they saw about three to one against them, come to a poll, but at last unanimously agreed for him.

"There sat this day in the House of Lords but one Papist Peer, but some are to come to town this day, and divers others are coming. It may not be unworthy your Grace's observation, that the Papists and Anabaptists stood in several places to be chosen, yet but one of each sort was actually chosen, and they both in the borough of Tuam, an archbishop's See; from which all collect that both these opinions will oppose the true church. I am confident," Orrery adds, "that much the major number of the House of Commons are faithful servants to His Majesty and friends to the church, which, whatever may be represented to the contrary, will by effects be made appear."

The opinion thus expressed was soon fulfilled by the event. Both Houses began with a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church government and liturgy established by law, and they concurred in passing a vote of censure on the Covenant and oaths of Association. The hostility of the Parliament to the Catholics was shown on every occasion, as well as its favour to the Adventurers and soldiers—the new possessors of estates whose titles were to be confirmed by law. In congratulating the King on his

return, the members declared "that they were none of the seditious rebellious rabble whom it had pleased the Almighty to suppress by the might of His power, but loyal subjects, preserved alive amidst the storms of persecution, who abhorred the rebellion, and traitorous murder and parricide of his Majesty's father of blessed memory", and condemned the Protectorate as "a wicked, traitorous, and abominable usurpation".

In 1662 Ormonde returned as Lord-Lieutenant, and Parliament again met in April, when the Act of Settlement, whereby it was concluded that all confiscations legitimately growing out of the insurrection ought to be held good, was passed. "Upwards of 3000 old proprietors were thus," says Lecky, "without a trial, excluded for ever from the inheritance of their fathers." After the Act of Settlement, according to an estimate made by Colonel Laurence, a Cromwellian soldier in Ireland, who wrote an account of this time, the Protestants possessed four-fifths of the whole kingdom; according to that of Sir William Petty they held rather more than two-thirds of the good land. Of the good land, as already stated, there had fallen under forfeiture from the rebellion 5,200,000 acres, nearly all of which, before October, 1641, had been owned by Catholics. Under the two Acts of Settlement, 2,340,000 acres were given back to the Catholics; 200,000 were restored to Ormonde, Inchiquin, and other Royalist Protestants; and 120,000 were given to the Duke of York—substantially, therefore, to the Catholic cause.



JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMONDE

From an engraving by William Holl

CHAPTER XXI

"New Presbyter" and "Old Priest"

The Presbyterians in Ireland a Powerful Body—Their Hopes from Charles's Dunfermline Declaration dashed to the Ground—A Meeting of Presbyterians held at Ballymena—They send a Deputation to Dublin—Orrery's Account of their Visit—Adair's Account of Interview granted to Presbyterian Ministers by Jeremy Taylor, the Bishop of Down and Connor—The Covenant ordered to be burnt by the Public Executioner as "schismatical, seditious, and treasonable".

During the Protectorate, when dissent was encouraged, the Presbyterians in Ireland had become a powerful body, and although their stronghold was in Ulster, where the Scots were numerous, they had spread over a considerable portion of the country. At the Restoration they were bitterly disappointed at the sudden and absolute re-establishment of the Episcopal Church, and all the more so in that they had relied on Charles's declaration at Dunfermline in favour of the Covenant, and the services they had rendered him in conjunction with the Cavaliers. In January, 1661, a consecration of twelve Bishops had been conducted in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, with such pomp that it was looked upon as a public triumph of the Episcopal over the Presbyterian party; and this, added to the expressions of "the unspeakable joy" of the Commons at their first meeting, over the revival of "the true worship of God" among them, nettled the Presbyterians, and once more made the unhappy land a shuttlecock for creeds.

A proclamation was issued forbidding all unlawful assemblies, and directing sheriffs and other officers to prevent or

disperse them. The congregation of Presbyterians, as disallowed by the new church establishment, was understood to be included amongst those proscribed by proclamation, and in alarm the Presbyterians summoned a meeting to be held in the month of March at Ballymena to consult on the course which, as a body, they should take. At the meeting they resolved to send to Dublin four of their number as representatives of the several Presbyteries in Ulster to expostulate with the Lords Justices on the Proclamation which forbade them to assemble, and to petition that in their several parishes they might be "free from the yoke of Prelacy". They based their demands on the King's promises, and referred to their constant loyalty, their sufferings, and their resolution to live as peaceful and law-abiding subjects. Information having been conveyed to the Government that such a meeting was about to be held, a troop of horse was sent to disperse those attending it; but the troopers arrived long after the meeting had been held and those present had departed.

The representatives of Presbyterianism were but coldly received by the Government in Dublin, and the Episcopal party in general seem to have treated them much in the same spirit as that which Milton was wont to exhibit towards "shallow Edwards and Scotch what d'ye call". In dealing with such individuals the ex-Latin Secretary did not spare invective, calling them "new apostate scarecrows, who, under shew of giving counsel, send out their barking monitories and mementoes, empty of aught else but the spleen of a frustrated faction".

The Earl of Orrery, then a Lord Justice, has left us an account of the interview with the four Presbyterian agents, enclosed in a letter to the Duke of Ormonde, which is interesting as an expression of the private sentiments of the ruler of Ireland at the time: "We have had", he writes, "these two days four ministers before us, which were sent from the several Presbyteries in Ulster to the Lords Justices

and Council, desiring liberty to exercise their ministry in their respective parishes, according to the way they have hitherto exercised it in; and expressing their great sorrow to find themselves numbered with Papists and fanatics in our late Proclamation, which prohibited unlawful assemblies.

"After many debates upon several proposals how to answer them, we resolved on this answer—That we neither could nor would allow any discipline to be exercised in church affairs but what was warranted and commanded by the laws of the land. That they were punishable for having exercised any other. That we would not take any advantage against them for what was past, if they would comport themselves conformably for the time to come. That if they were dispensed withal, by pleading a submission thereunto was against their consciences, Papists and fanatics would expect the like indulgence from the like plea, which we knew their own practice as well as judgments led them to disallow of. That we took it very ill, divers of those which had sent them had not observed the time set apart for humbling themselves for the barbarous murder of his late Majesty, a sin which no honest man could avoid being sorry for. That some of their number had preached seditiously, in crying up the Covenant, (the seeds of all our miseries), in lamenting His Majesty's breach of it, as getting up Episcopacy as introductory to Popery, which they had not punished in exercising any of their pretended discipline over such notorious offenders. And, lastly, that if they conformed themselves to the discipline of this church, they should want no fitting countenance and encouragement in carrying on their ministry; so if they continued refractory, they must expect the penalties the law did prescribe.

"To all which they answered: That as far as their consciences would permit them, they would comply, and what it would not, they would patiently suffer. That it was their religion to obey a lawful authority, (and such they owned His

Majesty was), either actively or passively. That if any of their judgment had preached sedition, they left them to themselves and disowned them; and if they had the exercising of their discipline, they would punish severely all such. That many of them had according to the Proclamation, kept the fast for the King's murder, which they heartily detested, and for the doing thereof in the usurper's government many of them had been imprisoned and sequestered; and that to the last of their lives they would continue loyal to His Majesty.

"And lest they might offend against our Proclamation, they desired to know what was meant by unlawful assemblies, because some were so severe as to interpret their meetings to pray and preach on the Lord's day to come under that head. To which we told them, that by unlawful meetings was only meant such assemblies as were to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which were not warranted by the laws of the kingdom, and not to hinder their meetings in performing parochial duties in those benefices of which they were possessed legally or illegally.

"They seemed much comforted with the last assurance; so that having again exhorted them to conformity, and promised them therein all encouragement, we dismissed them to try what this usage and the admonition will produce. I have had several private discourses with them, and I leave no honest means unessayed to gain them."

To the modern sceptic the object for which this journey was undertaken by these four worthy ministers to the life spiritual may possibly appear to be "much ado about nothing", but the honest endeavours of Orrery to get these, in his eyes, benighted Presbyterians, to see the error of their ways, proves how vital a thing religion was in a day when the greatest writer of his time deemed he could not employ his pen in worthier work than in an endeavour to "justify the ways of God to men". Englishmen had not yet begun to believe that forms of faith were unimportant, and that "his

can't be wrong whose life is in the right", and so these nameless representatives of—

Gordon,
Colkitto, or Macdonald, or Galasp,

wended their way homeward, "much comforted" in the belief that they had done something to win freedom of thought and liberty of speech for those who like themselves—

The faith and morals [held] which Milton held.

The Presbyterians were now left entirely to the mercy of the Bishops in their several dioceses, and were treated with more or less rigour according to the degree of liberality of those spiritual superiors. Among the foremost in persecution was the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, who had been appointed to the Bishopric of Down. Patrick Adair, one of seven Presbyterian ministers in the district, has left us an account of these transactions. It was proposed in 1650 to transplant the Presbyterians of Antrim and Down. Parties of soldiers were sent by the Commissioners, and one of these seized all Adair's papers indiscriminately, "there being none among sixteen soldiers and a sergeant who could read". The more important papers were restored to Adair by a maid-servant, who stole them while the sergeant was asleep. None of the seven clergymen would take the engagement of 1650, which bound men to support a Government without King or House of Lords, and they had much support among the people. As already stated, the orders for this transplantation were given, but not carried into effect.

"The Bishop of Down", writes Adair, "coming to his diocese at the time when the brethren were in Dublin, had intelligence of them and their errand, and so had an envious eye upon them. However, he forbeared his first visitation till they returned, and, finding they had obtained no encouragement, he immediately summoned them all to his

visitation. They could not then have a general meeting to consult; but Providence so ordered it that, a few days before the summons came which they were expecting, most of them were called to the burial of a honourable and truly religious lady, the lady Clotworthy, the mother of the now Lord Massarene. There they had occasion to advise together, and were not all of one mind as to their going to Lisnegarvy [Lisburn]. However most part met in Belfast a day before the visitation, and from thence went to Lisnegarvy.

"The Bishop being then at his house in Hillsborough, the brethren sent three of their number to the Bishop the day before the appointed visitation. Their errand was to tell him that whereas they had received summonses to appear before his visitation, they could not appear in answer to that summons, neither as submitting themselves to episcopal jurisdiction, nor at all in the public visitation. Yet they were willing to confer with him in private, that he might know they were men that walked by principle, and held not groundless opinions; and that though they were dissenters from the present church-government and modes of worship, yet they were the King's true subjects. He desired they would give him in on paper what they had to say. This they declined, on consideration that many of their brethren were not present. He told them he would receive nothing from them as a body, nor look on them in that light. They told him, whatever they were, or whatever way he looked on them, they behoved to advise with one another in matters of that concernment; as their relations as ministers, their former correspondence in all such matters, and their Christian prudence called for.

"Seeing they would give him no paper, he questioned them whether they held Presbyterial government to be *jure Divino*, and desired they would give him a positive answer. They readily answered they did. To this the Bishop replied, that they needed no farther discourse of the matter of accommodation, if they held to that. They said it was a truth

whereof they were persuaded in their conscience, and could not relinquish it, but must profess it as they were called; therefore if answers of that nature would but irritate at the public visitation, they judged it better not to appear, but to confer with him freely in private. He answered, if they should make profession contrary to law in the visitation, they would smart for it. Therefore seeing our foot in a snare, he desired them rather not to appear, and that as their friend. They thanked him, and withal said, they conceived they might hold Presbyterial government to be *jure Divino*, and yet not transgress the law of the land, since they were not exercising that government, for they knew that affirmative precepts bound not *ad semper*. He answered that was true, yet that they were not subject to another government was contrary to law; and he said though the King's late declaration in matters of religion were extended to Ireland, it would do them no good. They returned, that there were many in England who held Presbyterial government to be *jure Divino*, yet at present enjoyed the benefit of the King's declaration. He replied, he saw not how that could consist."

The author of *Holy Living* then questioned the ministers regarding the oath of supremacy, and offended them much by comparing them to Papists; on which they returned to their brethren at Lisburn, and the latter "saw themselves in a hard taking, yet encouraged one another to fidelity and steadfastness".

"The next day", continues Adair, "was the Bishop's visitation in Lisnegarvy, where he himself preached, but none of the brethren except two went to hear him. Thereafter in his visitation all were called and none appeared; yet he did nothing farther that day." Later "two of the former four and another brother were sent to him to see if he would call all the brethren together to his chamber to confer with him, which they apprehended he had proposed at Hillsborough; especially from his saying it was not fit for them to appear in

public. When accordingly they went, and proposed this to him, he wholly waived to answer their question, and fell angrily on reflections on Presbyterial government; having nothing to reflect on any particular brother, or on the particular actings of the Presbytery in this country, though fain he would if he could; and withal proposing arguments for conformity, which engaged the brethren in some discourse of that nature.

"Notwithstanding his own expressions the day before respecting their not appearing at the visitation, yet he now alleged it was contempt made the brethren not appear on that occasion. One said it was the awe of God and conscience that made them not appear. He replied—a Jew or a Quaker would say so much for their opinions, and everybody would use that argument for the vindication of their erroneous courses. There were also some few of the brethren whom he called to him to engage them to conformity, and gave them great offers of kindness and preferment; but he obtained not his purpose."

Adair's narrative has been thus long dwelt upon because it proves the spirit which the Bishops, now restored, carried with them into Ireland. As far as is shown in the accounts of both parties, the behaviour of the Presbyterians was moderate and forbearing, and they showed no inclination to resist the will of the civil government. The visitation at Lisburn was followed by the simultaneous expulsion of all the Presbyterian ministers in Jeremy Taylor's diocese of Down of Connor, from their pulpits and livings, the example of the English Chrysostom being followed in other dioceses.

The expelled ministers were at once deprived of all support which they had derived from their parishes, turned upon the world to seek a living on their own resources, and, what to them was the greatest punishment of all, forbidden to preach or exercise their calling in public.

On the 27th of May an order of Parliament was passed

condemning the Covenant as "schismatical, seditious, and treasonable", ordering it to be burnt in all cities and towns by the common executioner, and requiring the chief magistrate of the place to be present and see the order executed on the next market-day after its receipt. It was further declared that "whosoever shall, by word or deed, by sign or writing, go about to defend or justify the said treasonable covenant, shall be accounted and esteemed as an enemy to His Sacred Majesty and to the public peace and tranquility of His church and kingdom".

CHAPTER XXII

The Arts of Peace in Ulster

The Presbyterians and the Prayer Book—The Exodus to New England—Blood's Conspiracy—Mutiny at Carrickfergus—Peace and Industry in Ulster—Ormonde's Encouragement of the Linen Trade—Orrery's Arguments—Sir Arthur Forbes, Lord Justice, assists the Presbyterians—Death of Charles II.

The Cromwellian settlers in Ulster were almost all Nonconformists, and they became seriously disturbed by the high-handed action of the Bishops, who carried through Parliament a second Act of Uniformity, whereby not alone could no one officiate as a clergyman who had not been ordained by a Bishop, but every clergyman was obliged to profess before his congregation his full acceptance of the Prayer Book. He was called upon to subscribe a declaration that no subject under any pretext was justified in warring against his King, and that the oath to the Solemn League and Covenant was illegal and impious.

There were seventy Presbyterian ministers in Ulster. Of these, eight only accepted the Bishops' terms and were ordained; the rest were deprived and imprisoned. Jeremy Taylor declared thirty-six churches in his diocese vacant, and, having thus emptied all the pulpits, proceeded to fill them with creatures of his own. There were at least 100,000 Presbyterians in Ulster, and their ministers determined to appeal from this rigorous ruling of their consciences by petitioning Parliament. "They complained of their present usage by the Bishops; and asked for liberty to preach the gospel without those impositions to which they could not agree with

peace to their consciences." This petition the Presbyterians were not permitted to present to Parliament, and this produced such widespread discontent that the more serious-minded of the Cromwellian settlers sold their holdings and left the country. Thus commenced an exodus of Nonconformist Protestants from Ireland to New England which eventually drained Ireland of its soundest Protestant blood. Ulster partially recovered her freedom. The Scots were too numerous and too resolute to be overcome, and they wrung from the Bishops a consent to connivance at their continuing to observe their particular form of worship.

The tension caused by these political and religious animosities led to discontent and disruption, and finally to a conspiracy to overthrow the Government. The leaders of the agitation were chiefly officers in the army, headed by Colonel Thomas Blood, whose name is familiar in connection with his subsequent delinquencies in London. He was joined by his brother-in-law, a Presbyterian minister, and Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, named Lecky, and a few others. The conspirators first addressed themselves to the Presbyterian ministers in Ulster, but with little or no success. They appointed a committee to conduct the enterprise which aimed at the surprise of Dublin Castle and the seizure of Ormonde, but one of the members sold himself to the Government and gave secret information of all their proceedings. On the night of the 21st of May, 1663, a party of the chief conspirators assembled to carry out their project, but they were surprised by the authorities, and a number of them, including Lecky, were arrested. Blood, however, succeeded in getting away. Lecky, who refused to save his life by conforming, was executed.

The war with Holland in 1665–7 encouraged the discontented to rebel. The threat of a French invasion was magnified by rumour, and the army, being in arrears of pay, exhibited symptoms of disloyalty. In May, 1666, the garrison

of Carrickfergus broke into mutiny, seized all the money in the hands of the King's receiver, deposed the governor of the fort, the Earl of Donegal, and took possession of the castle and town. The soldiers acted in such a resolute manner that they caused not a little uneasiness to the Government, who, however, took prompt measures. Ormonde immediately sent his son, the Earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by sea to Carrickfergus. He at once cleared the town, driving the mutineers into the castle, with the loss of their leader, Corporal Dillon. The following day the Lord-Lieutenant himself appeared before the town, whereupon the mutineers surrendered. One hundred and ten were tried by court-martial, and nine of them, being found guilty, were executed, and the companies to which they belonged disbanded.

It is pleasant to be able to turn from an Ulster of insurrections and rebellions, an Ulster of massacres and miseries, to an Ulster which by skill and industry was slowly but surely winning her way to the front rank as a worker and a producer. The growing and spinning of flax had been encouraged by Strafford, who set it up in opposition to the wool trade. "He did observe", he said, "that the wool of that kingdom [of Ireland] did increase very much, that if it should there be wrought into cloth, it would be a very great prejudice to the clothing trade of England, and therefore he was willing, as much as he might lawfully and fairly, to discourage that trade; that in the other side, he was desirous to set up the trade of linen cloth, which would be beneficial there and not prejudice the trade of England." The linen business had always existed in Ulster; Strafford made rules for the management of the manufacture which he believed would greatly add to its value. The soil and climate of Ireland have proved to be eminently adapted for the cultivation of flax, and despite many and great vicissitudes the linen trade of the country has grown steadily since first it was mentioned in the early part of the fifteenth century, and the fact that the Presbyterians

held their ground in Ulster was largely due to the help they derived from the rapidity of the development of this industry.

The example of Strafford was now followed by Ormonde, who determined to re-establish and promote the manufacture of linen cloth, which had languished amid the troubles and disorders of the intervening period. An Act of Parliament was passed in Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and the manufacture of linen. Ormonde sent special commissioners to the Netherlands to observe the state of the linen trade there, and the various methods of manufacture, and to engage skilled workmen to cross to Ulster to instruct the native workers. Sir William Temple undertook to send to Belfast from Brabant 500 families skilled in manufacturing linen, and other skilled workers were brought from Rochelle and the Isle of Ré, from Jersey, and from various districts in France. Dwellings were provided for these various workmen, and the result of their presence in the north of Ireland was that the manufacture of cordage, sailcloth, linen, and diaper was brought to a remarkably high degree of excellence.

During these years of comparative peace in Ireland, England, and especially London, had suffered much. The war with Holland had opened well in 1665 and ended ignobly two years later. The great Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, had destroyed Sheerness, burned the shipping off Chatham, and sailed up the Thames as far as Tilbury. In the year 1665 it will be remembered the Plague raged in London, to be followed in twelve months by the Great Fire.

In 1666 the King (who detested the Covenanters) and the Earl of Clarendon resolved to uproot Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the consequent insurrection of the Presbyterians of Scotland aroused Orrery's zeal. He accordingly wrote to Ormonde. "I consider Ireland", he wrote, "as consisting of three sorts of people, the Protestants, the Scotch

Presbyters and other sectaries, and the Papists. By the best calculation I could make, I cannot find the Protestants, including the army, to amount to above 40,000 men fit to bear arms. I believe the Scotch Presbyters and other sectaries are double that number and the Papists quadruple the number of both. But then the Protestants, to counterbalance the greatness of the other two, have the King's authority in their hands, together with the arms and garrisons.

"This insurrection in Scotland will no doubt animate all the birds of that feather in Ireland, if not some in England too, where of late some disturbances have been about the hearth money. So that, by what is already begun in Scotland, a greater body than the Protestants of Ireland may be suspected in it. The King's late Proclamation, at the humble desire of the Parliament there, which puts the laws in force against Priests, Jesuits, and all Popish Recusants, will no doubt be laid hold of by the Romish clergy here to incite their flocks to mischief, and will fortify their persuasions with this argument: that if England, where there are twenty Protestants for one Papist, so warmly apprehend danger from those of their religion, what will they not apprehend for Ireland, where there are some twenty Papists for one Protestant, by which they may be but too successful orators, if not vigorously and speedily prevented.

"Nor will this argument possibly be neglected by the French, nor arms nor ammunition omitted to be sent to them. Besides, I observed, that in the beginning of the late rebellion, in Scotland and Ireland, that no sooner the Presbyters there cried up the Covenant, but the Papists here did the mass; and some considerable persons of the latter sort did clearly confess, that what the Scots had done was no small invitation to their attempts.

"And if when England was rich and quiet, the example of Scotland could give motion to Ireland, what may not now be rationally expected from the like example, considering that

the Ulster Scots were then as ready to join to suppress the Irish, as some doubt they will be to help the rebels of their own country; considering also that England is not only impoverished, but London likewise, the magazine of money and all things else, burned, and the King actually engaged in a bloody expensive war at once against France, Holland, and Denmark, and the rest of the Provinces of Europe at best but lookers-on, considering that France is quiet within itself, and governed by a young Prince, ambitious, absolute and wealthy, and apt on any occasion to enlarge his dominions; and in whose kingdom the desperatest sort of the Irish have taken their sanctuary, and are no doubt provoking him daily to embrace this promising juncture of time.

"Lastly, to omit many material considerations, considering the inability of England to help us, if they had the will; and the want of will too signally expressed in the late acts they have passed, almost as destructive as a rebellion or war could prove. To which may be added our general loss of trade, and consequently the almost impossibility of getting money to pay those taxes which are to pay the army."

In 1669 Lord Robartes was for a few months Lord-Lieutenant, Ormonde having fallen from the royal favour, and on the 21st of May, 1670, John Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, was sworn in as Viceroy. The following year Lord Berkeley, finding it necessary to leave for England, entrusted the government to the Lord Chancellor and Sir Arthur Forbes as Lords Justices. The latter was a steady friend of the Presbyterians, and he no sooner had the power than he not only procured an order for the release of all those who had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment on account of nonconformity, but also obtained by grant from the King a pension for Presbyterian ministers out of the forfeited lands still in his hands. The administration of the Lords Justices was not marked by any other occurrence of importance, and, finding it necessary to make some concession to public

opinion before the meeting of Parliament, the English ministers removed Lord Berkeley, who was believed to have been appointed Lord-Lieutenant by Roman Catholic influence, and in the beginning of August, 1672, Arthur, Earl of Essex, was made Viceroy, a position he held for five years. In August, 1677, Ormonde was reappointed Lord-Lieutenant by the King, who is said to have remarked of the Duke: "He is the fittest person to govern Ireland".

In 1679 the insurrection of the Covenanters in the west of Scotland aroused Ormonde's anxiety. He suspected that the Scottish insurgents had correspondence with their brethren in Ulster, and he therefore took hasty measures for the defence of the northern province. The battle of Bothwell Bridge on the 22nd of June, however, soon dissipated all his fears regarding Ulster.

Although of Ulster it cannot be said at this period that "more than peace was the passing of her days", she was nevertheless more at rest than she had ever been since the commencement of recorded time, for even under the rule of her native princes she had been eternally plunged in war, and had presented a scene in which never-ending battles were waged between Cinel Connel and Cinel Owen, savage O'Donnells and fierce O'Neills. She had now discovered that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war", and she proceeded sedulously to follow the paths which lead to a people's welfare, and would no doubt have long continued to do so but for the somewhat sudden death of the King, which occurred at noon on Friday the 6th of February, 1685.

Emerson, in his list of *Representative Men*, omitted Charles II, an admirable representative of the voluptuary. The character of Charles is too well known to need much comment. Lord Macaulay, in his penetrating remarks on the subject, attributes not a little of Charles's levity to the fact that the Prince had, "while very young, been driven forth

from a palace, to a life of exile, penury, and danger", and as a consequence his character was moulded abroad. This may be; but whatever other influences were at work, that of Henrietta Maria never ceased to be exercised, and it was this influence which had the most abiding and far-reaching results, not alone in the fact that Charles II died a professed Roman Catholic, but that James lived an avowed member of the same Church. Unlike Charles, James was not content to conceal his religious feelings, and his conduct in trying to coerce his subjects to think as he did, led as a natural consequence to the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXIII

"The Old Order Changeth"

A Troubled Reign—The Ireland of James II—Macaulay on Ireland—Eminent Irish Writers of the Period—Ormonde recalled—Primate Boyle and the Earl of Granard Lords Justices—The Opposed Religious Parties—Colonel Richard Talbot, "Lying Dick"—Order for Disarmament of Irish Militia—Talbot created Earl of Tyrconnell, and appointed General of the Irish Army—Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, appointed Lord-Lieutenant.

"When the historian of this troubled reign", wrote Macaulay, in reference to that of James II, "turns to Ireland, his task becomes peculiarly difficult and delicate." Macaulay wrote as an Englishman, and to him the work was rendered doubly difficult, if not delicate, by his lamentable lack of personal knowledge of Ireland and the Irish, and his consequent want of sympathy with a people of whose characteristics and aspirations he was wholly ignorant. The great historian's knowledge of Irishmen seems to have been largely derived from a study of Miss Edgeworth's stories, and he pathetically observes that in order to realize what the Irish were in the seventeenth century it is only necessary to study the national characteristics as depicted in the person of "King Corny" by a novelist of the nineteenth, and thus "form some notion of what King Corny's great-grandfather must have been". One might as well suggest that from a careful consideration of the character of James II some idea might be gathered of the character of *his* great-grandfather—Henry Darnley! It is this lack of knowledge and sympathy which led Macaulay to depict the Irish as living in sties, and to

contrast the "men who were fed on bread with the men who were fed on potatoes", with, of course, a verdict in favour of the former.

The Ireland of which James II became King was by no means a land filled with "squalid and half-naked barbarians", as Macaulay would have us believe. She was a land devastated by never-ending conflicts, and bore upon her features, save where they had been effaced by—

> The sweet oblivious tendencies
> And silent over-growings of nature,

traces, in shattered fane and ruined tower, in prone walls and roofless dwellings, of the dire and ruthless deeds which had been done in her midst. But the recuperative power of Ireland is one of her most notable characteristics. A few years of peace and plenty restored to their pristine vigour a race which, Antæus-like, arose refreshed from every overthrow. Ulster, which had from time immemorial been subject to the internecine feuds of the O'Donnells and O'Neills, and which later wellnigh suffered extinction at the hands of Mountjoy (her sons dying by hecatombs from starvation as well as the sword), survived to become a victim of Cromwell's sanguinary and merciless methods of warfare, and was now again prepared to hold her own against any foe however formidable!

There is ample evidence of the fact that from the days of Henry VIII to the days of Victoria it has been the constant aim of English statesmen to mould, if possible, Hibernian nationality in the matrix of Saxon sentiment. Celtic modes of thought and expression, it was desired, should be transmuted into something more staid and solid. The very language of the natives was to be suppressed and their utterances confined in the trammels of an alien tongue. Deprived of its wild exuberance of beauty, the speech of the country was gradually to assimilate the more prosaic elements

of English diction, by which it was hoped it would in time be superseded. Under these circumstances, and the fact that the land was the scene of interminable strife, it is not strange that the literature produced by Ireland at this period could not favourably compare with that of the so-called Augustan age of England.

But the seventeenth century, though a period of storm and stress for Ireland, was nevertheless not unproductive of intellectual effort. The opening years were not barren which produced such results as the works of Philip O'Sullivan Beare, Stephen White, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Messingham. From 1632 to 1636 the Four Masters—Michael, Conary, and Cucogry O'Clery, and Ferfeasa O'Mulconry—were engaged in compiling their invaluable *Annals of Ireland.* Geoffry Keating, who has been called the Irish Herodotus, died about the middle of the century; the learned Ussher and the able historian, Sir James Ware, produced their masterpieces at much the same period. The eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, Duald MacFirbis, was Ware's Irish amanuensis. John Colgan, a celebrated hagiographer, published his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* in 1645, and the seventeenth century also witnessed the results of the labours of a host of other Irish writers, such as Patrick Fleming, Hugh Ward, David Roth, Luke Wadding, Dominic O'Daly, Thomas Carve, Anthony Bruodin, Nicholas French, Oliver Plunkett, Richard Arsdekin, Archdeacon Lynch (Gratianus Lucius), and Roderick O'Flaherty, the learned author of the *Ogygia.* To this list might be added a large number of names of those who, inasmuch as religion at that time occupied the major portion of man's thoughts, wrote almost exclusively on theology, and whose writings will bear comparison with those of any English divine of the period, not excluding Jeremy Taylor, who as Bishop of Down spent not a little of his time in Ulster. It is by such achievements of the intellect as these that the Ireland of that time is to

be judged, for a nation is what its greatest are, otherwise we "place the feet above the head and swear the brains are in the feet", and by following such a process of reasoning we should arrive at the result that the national characteristics and tendencies of the England of Victoria should be gauged, not by the genius of a Tennyson or a Dickens, or the intellect of a Darwin or a Herbert Spencer, but by the coarse animalisms displayed by a Lancashire collier or a London hooligan.

It was one of the literary sins of Lord Macaulay that he adopted any phrase which was brilliant, irrespective of the truth or lack of truth it conveyed. Why he should disparage the Irish on account of their culture of the potato, which had recently been introduced into Ireland, it is difficult to discover, seeing that the tuber was also cultivated in England. The speedy popularity of the potato in Ireland is accounted for by the fact that during the endless wars waged on her soil all crops had by her foes been persistently doomed to destruction by fire or scythe; and a potato crop, being difficult to eradicate, and because if left undisturbed it secured a supply of food for months, was therefore adopted as a means of subsistence by the Irish, and not, as Macaulay states, because it could "be cultivated with scarcely any art, industry, or capital".

In addition to this slur on the race, Macaulay states that the Irish peasantry "never worked till they felt the sting of hunger. They were content with accommodation inferior to that which, in happier countries, was provided for domestic cattle", a statement which may be dismissed with the remark that the dwellings of the native population being under stress of war frequently doomed to destruction, the art of building was not encouraged thereby, the results of their labours in building or in tillage being, like their lives, in a constant state of jeopardy. "From a people so fed", concludes the great historian, "diligence and forethought were not to be

expected", and he points exultingly to the "great superiority of intelligence, vigour, and organization" of the bread-eating English. It is not strange, with such erroneous ideas regarding Ireland, Macaulay found his task "peculiarly difficult and delicate".

Let us endeavour to realize what Ireland, notwithstanding her potato-consuming proclivities, really was at this period of her history. When Charles II died, Ormonde was still at the head of affairs, although his recall was under consideration. On the accession of James II he caused the new monarch to be proclaimed with due solemnity, although the Protestant party of the Pale, well aware of the inclinations and temper of the new King, was struck with consternation. According to Cox, people heard the proclamation "with such dismal countenances and so much concern as if they had that day foreseen (as many did) the infelicity and misfortune of the following reign". Ormonde was now informed that his services were no longer required in Ireland, and he was invited to Whitehall to act as Lord Steward. The excuse made publicly for his recall was his age and infirmities, which, it was alleged, rendered him unequal to the arduous duties of his office, and in this he affected to concur, though he did not affect to deny that the new arrangement wounded his feelings. Before his departure he gave a magnificent banquet to the officers of the garrison of Dublin at Kilmainham Hospital, then just completed. After dinner he rose, and, holding in his hand a glass filled to the brim with wine, called the attention of his guests to the fact that he had not spilt a single drop, adding: "See, gentlemen! They say at Court I am old and in my dotage; but my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake. This to the health of the King!" Such was the Viceroy's farewell to Ireland. Towards the close of March, 1685, he delivered the sword of State to two Lords Justices, the Primate, Michael Boyle,

a very old man, and Sir Arthur Forbes, now Earl of Granard, and repaired to London, where he was received with unusual marks of public respect.

Of the Lords Justices one was so strong a supporter of High Church principles that he was suspected of having a leaning towards Roman Catholicism, while the other had frequently proved himself a protector of Presbyterians. This important body of Protestants had been subjected to much persecution during the latter years of Charles's reign, but they enjoyed some relief under the new Lords Justices, which was increased by the indulgence soon publicly given by James's proclamation of liberty of conscience. But the Presbyterian party was nevertheless not blinded by this indulgence to the sinister designs of James. They exhibited a strong inclination to stand firmly with the Episcopal Church in defending their faith, and they were regarded as the party most likely to prove the chief obstacle in the way of the King's meditated changes. On the other hand, the joy of the Irish Catholics was unbounded; and it will be seen that they had reason to rejoice, for they considered themselves justified in entertaining high hopes of speedily restored fortunes and the full enjoyment of religious liberty. The old English had become closely identified in sympathy and interest with the Irish, and between both and the New Interest, as the Cromwellian planters were styled, there existed all the jealousy and antipathy which spring from antagonism in religion and in race. From the commencement of his reign the King's dealings with Ireland tended to strengthen the hopes and fears of the two opposed religious parties.

But though the civil government of the country was in the hands of the Lords Justices, the military administration was in those of Colonel Richard Talbot. This Irish officer was a descendant of an old Norman family long resident in Leinster. Talbot's progenitors, however, had not maintained the prestige of the family name, and Talbot himself did not

add to it, for in his youth he had been well known in London as a sharper and a bully. In the coffee-houses he was known by the nickname of Lying Dick. In Ireland he had attached himself to Rinuccini, and had become one of the Nuncio's most zealous partisans. Later he served in the Low Countries, and there ingratiated himself with both Charles and the Duke of York when they were exiles, by professing to be ready at a moment's notice to assassinate the Protector. Soon after the Restoration he was rewarded for his loyalty by being raised to a position of some importance at Court. Lying Dick, who seems to have possessed no other talent, was filled with vanity and ambition, and he surrounded himself with some of the most violent of the old party of the Nuncio, who, having served under the Duke of York, returned with him to England, and now looked on Colonel Richard Talbot as their patron. During Charles's time he was one of the King's secret advisers on Irish matters.

In spite of their fears and surmises the Protestant party maintained their composure. When the Duke of Argyll rose in Scotland, in May, 1685, the Protestant army in Leinster marched with alacrity into Ulster, there to join the forces of that province and be transported to Scotland to aid in suppressing the rebellion, and there is no evidence that any sympathy whatever was exhibited in connection with Monmouth's rebellion; nevertheless it was seized as a pretext for an order to disarm the militia throughout the country, and they were ordered to deposit their arms in the King's stores. When questions were asked in Council, regarding this order, Granard's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Newcomen, answered "that the English wanted no arms", and he "hoped they would never have arms put into their hands again". The armed banditti known as "Tories" benefited by this disarmament, and though the country was infested with predatory bands a Protestant could scarcely obtain permission to keep a brace of pistols.

When this important measure was effected, Talbot returned to England, where, on the 11th of October, he was created Earl of Tyrconnell, and he was formally appointed Lieutenant-General of the Irish army. On the 16th of December, 1685, the King appointed as Lord-Lieutenant his brother-in-law, Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

CHAPTER XXIV

Tyrconnell, Lord of Misrule

Clarendon's Arrival — Tyrconnell's Departure — The Militia disarmed — Changes in Favour of the Catholic Element—Rapid Emigration—Tyrconnell returns with Plenary Powers—He proceeds to exercise them—He attacks the Acts of Settlement—Clarendon recalled—Tyrconnell Lord Deputy—He seizes the Charters of Dublin and other Cities—Carrickfergus resists, but finally yields to blandishment—The Protestants make a stand at Enniskillen—The Establishment of Defence Associations—A Force sent from Dublin to garrison Londonderry—The City revolts and closes the Gates—Preparations made for Resistance.

"When the King sent me here", wrote Clarendon on his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, "he told me that he would support the English interest, and he sent me that the world might see that he would do so. They were to have the freedom of their religion, yet he would have them see, too, that he looked upon them as a conquered people, and that he would support the settlement inviolably." His public instructions intimated the King's desire that Roman Catholics should be introduced into the corporations, and that they should be made magistrates and officers of justice. The Protestants were to be given to understand that it was not the King's intention to alter the religious establishment. "Never in my life", wrote Clarendon to the King, "have I met with people fuller of duty to your Majesty, nor more desirous of opportunities to manifest their loyalty."

When Clarendon arrived, in December, Tyrconnell took his departure for London, and it was there, under his direction, that all Irish business of any importance was conducted.

It was soon apparent that his influence was superior to all other, and that the King was inclined to give ear to the most violent and offensive counsels. The fruits of Tyrconnell's methods of administration were speedily seen. Without Clarendon's approbation, and even without his knowledge, preparations were made for arming and drilling the whole native population of the country. Steps were taken to place the arms of the militia beyond the reach of recovery. Chester Castle was made the arsenal for Ireland, and orders were issued directing the stores of Carrickfergus, Athlone, and Limerick to be removed to Dublin, from thence to be shipped to England. Changes were made in most of the important offices. The seals were taken suddenly from the Primate-Chancellor, and Sir Charles Porter was sent to take his place. Three Protestant judges were removed arbitrarily, no reason being assigned, and their places filled by Catholics, one of whom, Justice Daly, being described by the Viceroy as "perfect Irish, of the old race, very bigoted and national". In spite of Clarendon's protests, they were not only sworn into office without being required to take the oath of supremacy, but these, with some other Irish lawyers, were ordered to be admitted into the Irish Privy Council.

All these changes, and rumours of changes, filled the Protestants with alarm. Some of the Presbyterians of Ulster, wearied by the annoyances to which they were subjected, sold their effects and fled to New England. Others repaired to Scotland. Protestant merchants and traders began to abandon the country, and Clarendon wrote a word of warning to the King. "The King does not believe me," he said when he found his advice ignored. "Well, I have done my part. If the King finds his subjects here desert the country every week, as I am sure they do, perhaps I shall be believed then." The bonds of society seemed everywhere broken, and the fears of the populace were soon shared by the higher grades. The Earl of Granard was deprived of his regiment, and to

appease any resentment that might be felt by one who possessed so much influence among the Presbyterians, he was offered the new office of President of the Council, a post he declined. The great body of Presbyterians, who regarded Granard as their protector, naturally saw in these proceedings a confirmation of their worst apprehensions, and their consternation was complete. The Presbyterians were not alone in their view of the situation. "All proceedings now look", said Clarendon, "as if the King's mind was altered, and as if he intended a total alteration. He consults only with the Irish whose interest is to break the Settlement. All power is in the hands of the conquered nation, and the English, who did conquer, are left naked, and deprived even of arms which by the patents of plantation they are obliged to have in readiness for the King's service."

In June, 1686, Tyrconnell returned to Ireland with plenary powers to carry out the King's designs in favour of the Catholics. He was given the entire control of the army, and he brought with him a number of military commissions by which many of the best Protestant officers were dismissed and Catholics substituted in their places. He was also commissioned to admit Roman Catholics to the freedom of corporations and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace. Clarendon had already, as directed, nominated Catholic sheriffs and magistrates, but the appointments did not satisfy Tyrconnell. "Moderate Catholics" he called "Trimmers"; as to the sheriffs he exclaimed, addressing himself to Clarendon: "By God!" ("being never likely to be near Him save in an oath") "the sheriffs you made are generally rogues. There has not been an honest sheriff in Ireland these twenty years", and he proceeded, assisted by Nugent, to draw up a list of sheriffs for the year following, which the Viceroy was obliged to accept. Thus the entire civil magistracy of Ireland passed into the hands of the Catholics.

Tyrconnell now proceeded to attack the Acts of Settlement, declaring that "these Acts of Settlement and this 'New Interest' are damned things!" and he again proceeded to London with the twofold object of persuading the King to repeal these Acts and of procuring the recall of the Protestant Lord-Lieutenant. With regard to the latter he succeeded beyond his hopes, for not alone was Clarendon recalled in February, 1687, but he was himself appointed his successor with the title of Lord Deputy.

Clarendon had been prepared for the announcement of Tyrconnell's appointment by many signs of approaching changes, although he was assured by the King in more than one letter that His Majesty was quite satisfied with his conduct of the government, at the same time remarking: "There is work to be done in Ireland which no Englishman will do". After the fall of Rochester, his brother, the Viceroy could no longer battle against adverse circumstances. The outlook was hopeless. "It is scarce possible", he wrote, "for any that have not been here to believe the profound ignorant bigotry the nation here are bred in by the priests, who, to all appearance, seem to be as ignorant as themselves. The generality of them do believe that this kingdom is the Pope's; that the King has no right further than the Pope gives him authority; and that it is lawful for them to call in any foreign power to help them against those who oppose the jurisdiction of the Church, as has evidently appeared by the late rebellion. And I do assure you the same principles which carried on that rebellion have been since carefully propagated, and are now too publicly owned. True, many Roman Catholics declare against these principles, and do detest them, even priests. But these two things are observable; first, that those who detest those principles, and will not allow the Pope to have so great an authority at this time when Roman Catholics are put into all employments, are scarce taken notice of, and upbraided with the names of

Whigs and Trimmers; and the children of the most active in the rebellion, and those who set up the Pope's authority most, are in the employments; and secondly, notwithstanding the moderation of those Roman Catholics I mention, not one of them will suffer any of the others to be prosecuted for any offence they commit."

Clarendon having departed and Tyrconnell being sworn in, the next step was the seizure of the charters of cities and boroughs in order to remould the corporations according to the King's wishes. The Lord Deputy commenced with the city of Dublin, as the first and most important of the Irish corporations, and the one whose example would necessarily exercise a considerable influence over the rest. His autocratic demand met with firm resistance, but in the end the charter of Dublin was seized. The other corporations throughout Ireland met with the same fate. One only gave the Government much embarrassment, that of Carrickfergus, and it was only induced to surrender its charter by much persuasion.

While the Protestants in the south were not strong numerically, in Ulster they were in the majority. Two of the northern towns, Londonderry and Enniskillen, gained distinction by their early and determined resistance to the Government. Enniskillen, at that time a small town, was the only borough in the County Fermanagh, the ancient territory of the Maguires. It is situated on an island in the narrow part of Lough Erne. The city of Londonderry, on the western shore of Lough Foyle, and through it in communication with the sea, was surrounded by a wall strengthened with bastions, but with fortifications unequal to a land siege. It had been garrisoned with a regiment composed largely of Protestants under the command of that stanch Protestant, Lord Mountjoy, but the garrison was withdrawn by Tyrconnell to send troops to James, and he now (December, 1688) determined to regarrison the stronghold.

The Protestants in Ulster, having been alarmed by rumours (which proved to be ill-founded, or circulated by design) of a general massacre of all Protestants, to be begun on the 9th of December, commenced to consult together with a view to concerted action in self-defence. Numbers arose in counties Armagh, Donegal, Down, Monaghan, and Tyrone, under the leadership of such men as Lord Mount-Alexander, who was considered chief of the northern league, Lord Blaney, and Sir Arthur Rawdon. On the 1st of December, Enniskillen received orders from Dublin to provide for two companies of foot which were to be quartered upon them; and being in no mood to receive them, the inhabitants, recalling the fact that Chancellor Fitton had publicly remarked that among 40,000 Protestants there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain, determined to earn the titles thus bestowed upon them by a vigorous resistance to the order they had received. The gentlemen throughout Ulster armed their tenants as well as they were able, and re-established their disbanded militia.

Tyrconnell, determined to secure the North, at once sent down a strong force, under the command of the Earl of Antrim, to disperse the various gatherings of the defence associations and garrison Londonderry. Antrim reached Newtown-Limavady on the 6th of December, where intelligence of the rumoured massacre had already been received, and the sudden appearance of the soldiers was therefore regarded with suspicion. Steps were immediately taken to warn Londonderry of their approach, and in an instant the whole city prepared to shut the gates against the proposed garrison. Tomkins, an alderman, and James Gordon, a Nonconformist minister, were in favour of immediate resistance, and summoned aid from all quarters for that purpose, Gordon himself rousing the public spirit by calling aloud in the streets for volunteers. Tomkins, meanwhile, with the caution characteristic of a city father, consulted a brother

alderman named Norman, and, believing that there is wisdom in numbers, they together consulted the Bishop, Ezekiel Hopkins, who, being a man of peace, counselled caution, and, the magistrates being of the same opinion, preparations were made to receive the garrison.

"To do great things we must be young", said Goethe. It is to the youthful apprentices of Londonderry that the city owes the foundations of her fame. Thirteen of these youths, William Cairns, Henry Campsie, Alexander and John Coningham, Samuel Harvey, Samuel Hunt, William Crookshanks, Alexander Irwin, Robert Morrison, Daniel and Robert Sherrard, James Spike, and James Stewart, who appear, from their names, to have been of Scottish birth or descent, at the critical moment (7th December, 1689) when Antrim's men were already at the gates, having armed themselves and seized the keys of the city, flew to the Ferry Gate, and, closing it in the faces of the King's men, let down the portcullis. They then closed the three other gates of the city, placing guards at each. The celerity and spirit with which these movements were conducted spread like wildfire through the city, the daring action of the young men kindling the enthusiasm of their elders until there glowed in every breast a desire to maintain at all hazards, and against all odds, the freedom and integrity of Derry. In vain the Bishop expostulated and exhorted the citizens to obey the Lord's Anointed. He was interrupted by the exclamation: "A good sermon, my Lord, a very good sermon; but we have not time to hear it just now!" Futile the efforts of the deputy-mayor and sheriffs to secure submission to the orders from the Lord-Lieutenant, neither persuasion nor threat proved powerful enough to change the minds of the citizens. The magazines were opened, muskets and gunpowder were duly distributed, and sentinels posted on the ramparts. One of the citizens—James Morison—mounting the wall and addressing Antrim's men bade them depart without delay. They

hesitated, but on Morison's calling aloud in their hearing for a cannon to be trained on them they forthwith retreated out of range. This was a repulse on which they had not reckoned.

So far the citizens had acted on the initiative of the apprentices and in the teeth of spiritual as well as magisterial warning and advice. The Bishop's armoury had consisted chiefly of—

> Threatenings out of Peter or of Paul
> And some strange cursings from Leviticus.

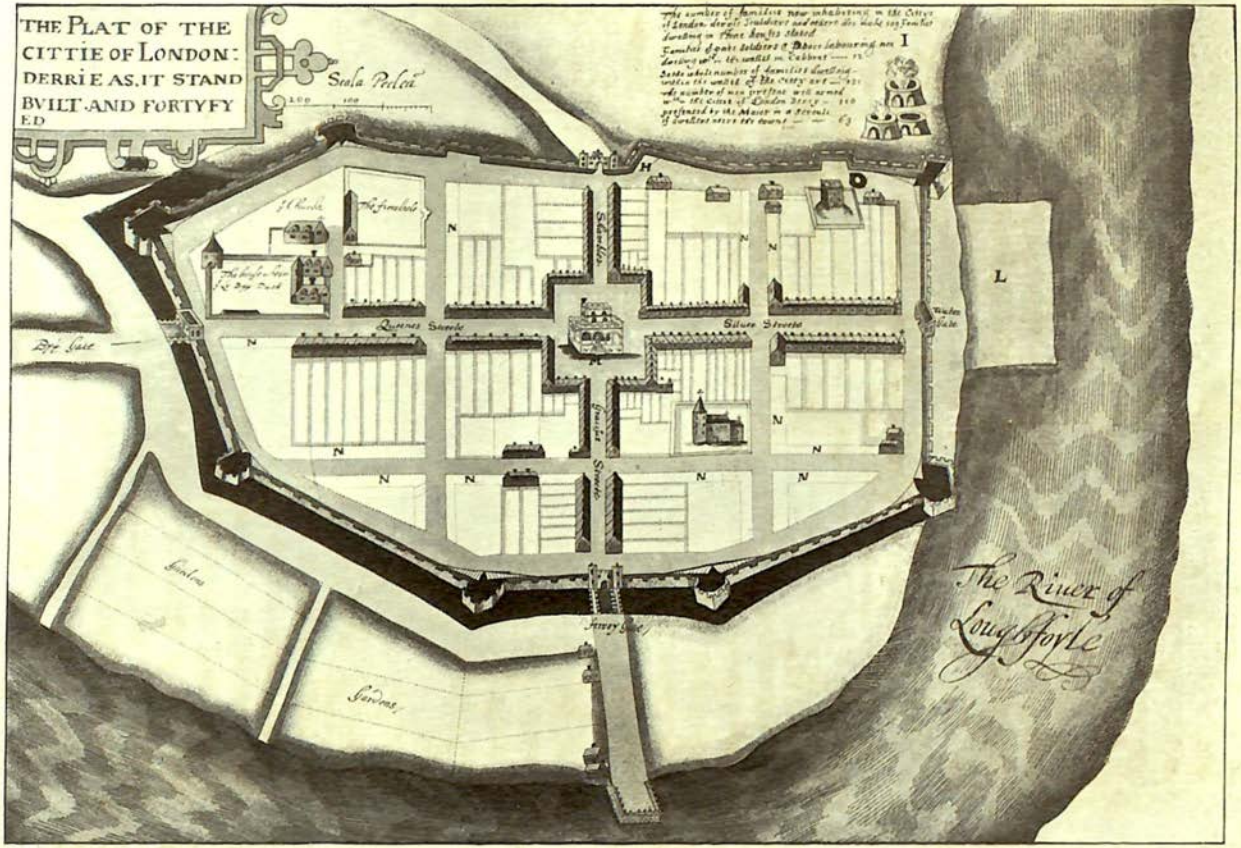
The magistrates and sheriffs had warned them of more palpable punishment for their misdeeds. But both alike were unavailing; the contagion spread, and a leader soon appeared. In the afternoon of this fateful day, David Cairnes, a Protestant resident in the neighbourhood, on hearing the news, entered Londonderry to encourage the citizens, whose conduct he publicly applauded. Alderman Norman, with several others who had held back, now joined the movement. A meeting was held at the guard-house, at which it was resolved to communicate with the principal gentry of the surrounding district, requesting their co-operation. This summons was met by a speedy response, for within forty-eight hours hundreds of foot and horse arrived, and, Derry being fortified as speedily as was possible under the circumstances, unanimously declared for a resolute defence.

CHAPTER XXV

Londonderry and Enniskillen Revolt

The Earl of Antrim and George Phillips of Limavady repair to Londonderry—Phillips admitted to the City—He joins the Movement—Antrim retires to Coleraine—Phillips elected Governor of Londonderry, raises Troops for the Defence of the City—Enniskillen follows the example of Londonderry and prepares to take the Offensive—A Bloodless Victory—Gustavus Hamilton appointed Governor—Lord Mountjoy and Lundy sent to Londonderry—Terms arrived at—Mountjoy, Governor—He assists the Citizens—Tyrconnell recalls him—He leaves Lundy in Command—The Declaration of County Antrim.

Although Antrim's men were repulsed at the gates of Londonderry, Antrim himself was at Limavady, where, on the night of the 8th December, he reposed in the residence of George Phillips, a descendant of Sir Thomas Phillips of Limavady Castle. On the morning of the 9th he invited his host to accompany him in his coach to Londonderry. On nearing the city Antrim was surprised to meet his men retreating, and was given a grossly exaggerated account of the bellicose attitude of the citizens. Antrim, a very degenerate descendant of Sorley Boy, proposed that Phillips (a very old man) should go forward alone and ascertain the truth of affairs, which Phillips accordingly did. He found the city gates closed, and, although he had been the first to warn the citizens of approaching danger, he found some difficulty, on account of his being an envoy from Antrim, in gaining admittance. On finding the citizens armed and prepared to defend the city under the direction of David Cairnes, who acted as governor, Phillips at once approved of what had been done, and agreed to join them; but in order to protect those in Limavady, who, on a premature alarm, might lie at the


THE PLAT OF THE CITTIE OF LONDON: DERRIE AS IT STAND BVILT AND FORTYFYED
Scala Pedū
Queenes Streete
Silver Streete
Ferriet Streete
Ferry Gate
The River of Longfforte

PLAN OF LONDONDERRY, 1622

From a facsimile of a contemporary drawing

mercy of Antrim's soldiers, he suggested that he should be detained by force and Antrim be advised of the fact. This plan was accordingly acted upon, Phillips writing to Antrim telling his lordship that he was a prisoner, and advising him to give up the attempt to force a garrison upon Londonderry. Phillips of Newtown-Limavady was then elected governor of Londonderry, and Cairnes was sent to England to report the state of affairs to the great London companies who had an interest in the city. Antrim, not wishing to commence a civil war, retired on Coleraine; and on his departure Phillips repaired to Limavady and raised for the defence of Londonderry a body of three or four hundred horse, an action in which he had the active co-operation of many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who greatly augmented in various ways the forces thus raised.

Enniskillen, encouraged by the example of Londonderry, also maintained her attitude of defiance. On Thursday, the 13th of December, news arrived that the two companies to be quartered on her were on the march, and next day that they had reached Clones. On Saturday, the 15th, the soldiers were at Maguire's Bridge, and on Sunday morning at ten o'clock, while the Enniskillen men were at church, their devotions were disturbed by the intelligence that the two companies, with numerous camp-followers and other stragglers, were but four miles distant, at the village of Lismella. The Protestants of Enniskillen rushed out of church, armed in haste, and prepared to maintain by force their refusal to admit the soldiers sent by Tyrconnell to be quartered upon them.

The activities of the previous few days had not found the Inniskillings idle. When the first intimation of Tyrconnell's intentions reached them, their means of defence were meagre. Not ten pounds of powder were in their possession, not a score of firearms fit for use. But petitions for aid in the coming struggle addressed to the neighbouring gentry were

speedily answered. In a few hours 200 foot and 150 horse had assembled, and with this force the Inniskillings decided to march out to meet the force they had determined to repel. At the same time Gustavus Hamilton, later Lord Boyne, one of the leading men of the county, drew up with 100 horse about a mile from the town, and stood ready to give assistance if required. The officers of the companies, however, were surprised to find resistance where they had expected none. They had distributed among the peasantry arms with which they had been provided for the purpose, and the rustics had gleefully accompanied them on their march; but when they saw advancing towards them a large body of mounted gentlemen and yeomen, the peasantry took to their heels, and the companies retreated in such hot haste that it partook of the nature of flight, no halt being called until they reached Maguire's Bridge, from which on the day following they continued their retreat to Cavan.

Elated by this easy victory, the Inniskillings now proceeded to make arrangements for the government and defence of the town and surrounding country. They appointed as their governor Gustavus Hamilton, who, having served in the army, and having, in modern parlance, a stake in the country, was well fitted for the position, which he accepted all the more readily because he had recently been deprived of his commission by Tyrconnell. He accordingly took up his residence in the castle. All the country houses round Lough Erne were turned into forts garrisoned by trusted men armed with swords and pikes, and their improvised armoury included dangerous weapons made by fixing scythes on poles. A pact was also arranged with Londonderry whereby the support of that city was secured.

Tyrconnell, surprised and enraged by the unexpected resistance of Enniskillen and Londonderry, prepared to wreak his vengeance on those who had dared to oppose his will, and no doubt the Viceroy's anger might have had

dire results had he not been suddenly faced by danger in another quarter. Tidings had arrived that William, Prince of Orange, was marching unopposed on London. All England had declared for the Prince, and fortune appeared to be in his favour. With such a prospect, to create fresh enemies in Ireland would be madness; and the Lord Deputy, recognizing this fact, entrusted to the Master of Ordnance, William Stewart, Lord Mountjoy, who had recently been in command of the garrison at Londonderry, the task of pacifying the citizens, to whom his ultra-Protestantism Tyrconnell considered would appeal. Mountjoy at once set out for Londonderry with a regiment of which he was colonel, in which an English and Episcopalian element preponderated, but which also included a number of Roman Catholics. When Lord Mountjoy and Robert Lundy, his lieutenant, reached Armagh, a message was sent to Londonderry requesting that representatives of the city should be sent to Raphoe, so that terms as to the admission of the regiment to Londonderry might be arrived at. The citizens, who welcomed the advent of Mountjoy personally, at once complied, and several conferences took place, at the earlier of which a crux was caused by the representatives of Londonderry refusing to admit into the city those of Mountjoy's regiment who were not Protestants. No compromise was effected; the citizens triumphed and dictated their own terms, which were that a free and general pardon should be granted within fifteen days; that two companies only, composed exclusively of Protestants, should be admitted at first, and that should further companies be admitted later, at least one-half should be Protestants also; that until the receipt of the pardon the guards and watches of the city should remain in the hands of the citizens; that if at any time prior to the 1st of March following Lord Mountjoy's regiment should be removed from Londonderry, he should restore the guards and watches to the custody of the citizens; and that

each and all of the inhabitants should be free to remain or depart at will; finally, that no soldier of Lord Antrim should be quartered in Londonderry or its vicinity.

No sooner were these terms agreed to than Mountjoy dispatched Colonel Lundy to Strabane to countermand the advance of four companies composed of Roman Catholics who were quartered there and at Newtown Stewart, until they had been re-formed according to the terms just agreed upon. Phillips resigned the governorship of Londonderry in favour of Mountjoy, who now joined issue with the citizens and assisted them in fortifying the city. The gun-carriages were repaired and the armoury replenished, and, with money subscribed by the citizens, powder and ammunition were procured from Scotland. Messengers were also sent to England to instruct Cairnes to procure further supplies from the great London companies.

The Lord Deputy, being informed of Mountjoy's changed front, at once recalled him; but before he left for Dublin he was waited on by a deputation of gentlemen from Enniskillen, who requested to be favoured in the same way as Londonderry had been. Mountjoy, however, had no time to give any aid save advice; and as he had not the same knowledge of Enniskillen as he had of Londonderry, and had therefore, in view of his recall, to be cautious, he is reported to have said to the members of the deputation: "My advice to you is to submit to the King's authority." "What, my Lord," said one of the deputies, "are we to sit still and let ourselves be butchered?" "The King," said Mountjoy, "will protect you." "If all we hear be true," said the deputy, "His Majesty will find it hard enough to protect himself." With this unsatisfactory result the interview ended. Enniskillen kept up its attitude of defiance. Mountjoy repaired to Dublin, and was sent with Lord Chief Baron Rice to Paris on a mission which had no other result than that Mountjoy found himself in the Bastille, while Rice, who was a Roman Catholic,

remained at liberty. By this time it had indeed become evident that James could not protect himself. It was known in Ireland that he had fled; had been frustrated in his flight; that he had fled again; that the Prince of Orange had reached Westminster in triumph, and had taken on himself the administration of affairs.

Londonderry, left under the command of Lundy, who assumed the title of Governor, was in the hands of one in whom, luckily, the citizens placed little confidence; nevertheless, he succeeded in gaining admission for the remaining four companies of which he had formerly had command. These, however, had been so "well purged of Papists" that little or no objection was made to their entry, the citizens having already formed six companies of volunteers from both within and without the city, commanded by officers who, on account of their profession of Protestantism, had been deprived of their commissions by Tyrconnell.

Movements in the North became now so rapid and so threatening that a proclamation was issued in Dublin, with special reference to Ulster, whereby Protestants were forbidden to assemble in troops and companies; but the order had no effect, for Ulstermen were convinced that their only hope of safety consisted in standing upon their own defence. Early in January, 1689, they began to stir themselves, encouraged by the activity of Sir Arthur Rawdon of Moira, who, with other leading Protestants in Ulster, formed a bold design to disarm the garrisons of Belfast and Lisburn and surprise Carrickfergus. The attempt, however, was not successful. Associations were formed for self-defence, and great activity was displayed in the raising of troops and garrisoning of towns. The declarations issued by these associations are interesting as evidence of the spirit which animated the various bodies which subscribed to them, and that of the Association of Antrim may here be given, as exhibiting the principles which the members professed.

"It being notoriously known," the document states, "not only to the Protestant inhabitants of the northern counties, but to those throughout this whole kingdom of Ireland, that the peace and quiet of this nation is now in great and imminent danger; and that it is absolutely necessary for all Protestants to agree within their several counties upon some speedy and effectual methods for their own defence, and for securing (as much as in them lies) the Protestant religion, their lives, liberties, and properties, and the peace of this kingdom which are so much endeavoured to be disturbed by Popish and illegal counsellors and their abettors. And inasmuch as union and dispatch are necessary for effecting the same, we the nobility and gentry of the county of Antrim do associate together, firmly resolving to adhere to the laws of this kingdom and the Protestant religion, and to act in subordination to the government of England and the promoting of a free Parliament.

"And we do declare, if we be forced to take up arms, as it will be contrary to our inclination, so it shall be only defensive, not in the least to invade the lives, liberties, or estates of any of our fellow subjects, no not of the Popish persuasion, whilst they demean themselves peaceably with us. The reasons which induce us to put ourselves in some necessary posture of defence, are so obvious and urgent upon us, when we consider of the great levies daily made of Popish soldiers, and at this time especially when the King is retired, and their arming can in no wise be serviceable to His Majesty's interest; it were inconsistent with common prudence, not to suspect their designs to be such as will tend, if not to the destruction, yet to the great endangering of the lives, liberties, and properties of the Protestant subjects of this kingdom, if not prevented.

"And we do declare, though at present we will admit none but Protestants into our Association, yet we will to our power protect even Papists from violence, whilst their behaviour

amongst us is peaceable and quiet. And we doubt not but all good Protestants in this kingdom will in their several stations join with us in the same public defence; and that God will bless these our just, innocent, and necessary undertakings, for our lives, laws, and religion.

"And whereas it will be necessary for the more effectual and successful carrying on these mutual endeavours for the preservation of our religion and properties, and to avoid confusion and distraction, which in such cases may otherwise happen, to appoint some eminent person or persons to whose conduct we may entirely submit ourselves in this our undertaking; we do therefore by these presents unanimously elect and appoint the Right Honourable Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander and the Honourable Clotworthy Skeffington, Esquire, or either of them, jointly or severally, as they shall think fit, to be our commander or commanders-in-chief of all the forces in the said county of Antrim; and do hereby oblige ourselves to serve under their or either of their commands, in such manner, place, and station, as they or one of them in their discretion and judgment shall direct; and that we will from time to time observe and obey all such orders and methods for the better carrying on this enterprize, and procuring of horse and foot, and such numbers of men, arms, and ammunition, as our county council of five shall think fit, and that with all expedition, immediately to be arrayed and formed into troops and companies, and to be disposed of from time to time according to their or either of their orders, they or one of them acting with the advice and consent of the said county council of five, or the major part thereof."

The movement thus inaugurated in Ulster extended to other parts of the country, but this Declaration of Antrim was one of the very first made.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Brave Inniskillings

The General Council address the Prince of Orange—The Prince replies—William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen in Enniskillen—Tyrconnell determines to reduce Ulster—He employs Colonel Richard Hamilton—Hamilton marches into Ulster—His Advance spreads Consternation—Lord Blaney defeats a Portion of his Forces and occupies Coleraine—Enniskillen still maintains her Independent Attitude—Viscount Galmoy lays Siege to Crom Castle with Tin Cannon—His Treachery and Barbarity.

Ulster now determined on a concentrated effort, the county councils congregated at Hillsborough to form one general council to consult upon the interests of the Protestant community. Tyrconnell contented himself with collecting, as best he could, forces to be employed in the service of James, and the Northerners, during January and February, 1689, were left unmolested to collect their troops and mature their plans. One of the first acts of the General Council was to compose an address to the Prince of Orange, stating their condition and expressing their sentiments and praying for speedy assistance. This address was committed to the care of Captain Leighton for delivery to the Prince. Leighton sailed from Belfast on the 10th of January, and on the 10th of February he returned with William's answer addressed to the President of the Ulster League, the Earl of Mount Alexander.

In his reply the Prince said: "Having received an account from Captain Leighton of what he was entrusted to represent to us in relation to the condition of the

Protestants in Ireland, we have directed him to assure you in our name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazards you are exposed to, by the illegal power the Papists have of late usurped in that kingdom, and that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in our power for rescuing you from the oppressions and terrors you be under; that in the meantime we do well approve of the endeavours we understand you are using to put yourselves into a posture of defence, that you may not be surprised, wherein you may expect all the encouragements and assistance that can be given you from hence.

"And because we are persuaded that there are even of the Romish communion many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in authority; and we think it just to make distinctions of persons, according to their behaviour and deserts; we do hereby authorize you to promise in our name, to all such who shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, our protection and exemption from those pains and forfeitures which those only shall incur who are the maintainers and abettors of the said illegal authority, assumed and continued contrary to law, or who shall act anything to the prejudice of the Protestant interest, or the disturbance of the public peace in that kingdom.

"And for further particulars we refer you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who hath committed himself with fidelity and diligence in your concerns) of the sincerity of our intentions towards you. And so we recommend you to the protection of Almighty God."

This gracious message from the Prince of Orange did much to raise the spirits of his adherents in Ulster. In Londonderry and Enniskillen the tidings of the proceedings at Westminster on the 6th of February, whereby the Convention had carried a resolution that the Prince and Princess of

Orange should be declared King and Queen of England, were received with great joy. William and Mary, on the 11th of March, were proclaimed at Enniskillen with unbounded enthusiasm, and with such pomp as the little town could furnish.

To reduce the Protestants of Ulster to submission before aid could arrive from England was now Tyrconnell's chief object, and he employed for this purpose a member of the illustrious house of Hamilton. Colonel Richard Hamilton, however, was not destined to add to the lustre of the family record. He spent his earlier years at Whitehall and Versailles, and later repaired to Ireland, where he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Irish army, and was one of the Irish Privy Council. He had been sent by Tyrconnell, whose friendship and confidence he had won, to support James in England, and when the troops submitted to the Prince of Orange, he made his own terms of peace. Owing chiefly to the influence of his celebrated brother, Anthony, Richard came under William's notice, to whom he was recommended as a man of honour, and as one having great influence with Tyrconnell; and as negotiations had been opened with the Lord-Deputy, he was commissioned to repair to Dublin to confer with him. This commission he accepted, promising if he was unsuccessful in bringing Tyrconnell to terms, he would return to London in three weeks.

When Hamilton arrived in Dublin, instead of executing his commission, he gave Tyrconnell all the information he had collected relating to the state of England, which he represented as favourable to the cause of James, recommended him to maintain his position as Lord Deputy, and notwithstanding his solemn promise to return he remained in Ireland and gave every assistance to the Viceroy to collect an army with which it was proposed to reduce Ulster to submission. The call to arms was answered with remarkable promptitude

and enthusiasm. The flag which flew on Dublin Castle bore the words: "Now or Never! Now and for Ever!" and all Ireland repeated them. The army which in Ormonde's time had consisted of eight regiments rapidly increased to six times that number, and the ranks were full to overflowing. There was, however, a lamentable lack of officers, for Tyrconnell, in his zeal to purge the army of Protestants, had deprived many of their commissions, and their places were now filled by tailors, cobblers, and footmen. The arming became universal. To add fuel to the flame of general enthusiasm, an agent from James arrived to convey to Tyrconnell the welcome intelligence that he was himself hastening to the relief of his Catholic subjects and would soon appear among them in person at the head of a powerful force.

Hamilton, raised to the rank of General, marched into Ulster, after a proclamation had been issued commanding the northern Protestants to disarm and dissolve their assemblies. They had not yet learnt how to act with the unity and rapidity required to secure successful resistance, and they relied on Lundy, who, though he had signed a declaration by which he bound himself to stand by the new Government on pain of being considered a coward and a traitor, did not give the support he promised, and on which the Northerners had calculated. On the 11th of March Hamilton appeared before Newry, which Sir Arthur Rawdon, with the small forces under his command, was obliged to abandon, and he slowly retreated towards Dromore. Here a skirmish took place with the opposing forces, with the loss of a few men, and Rawdon's followers were compelled to take to flight till they came to Hillsborough, which they could not hold, with the result that ammunition, provisions, and papers of the Central Council fell into the hands of Hamilton's men.

The advance of the Jacobite army spread consternation among the ill-armed and ill-disciplined levies of the Protestants,

many of whom sought refuge in Londonderry or fled to England. The more resolute, however, rallied round Lord Mount Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon, whose spirit and example kept together about 4000 men, and with these they marched to Coleraine in order to prevent Hamilton's forces from crossing the Bann. The latter, elated with success, and being accompanied by a rabble, such as Keating well compared to the unclean birds of prey which gather wherever the scent of carrion is strong, gave themselves up to collecting booty, and thus gave time to the fugitives to rally and to fortify the towns they occupied.

The allied forces of Armagh and Monaghan, amounting to about 1800 men, "indifferently well armed", were under the command of Lord Blaney. With these he had held in check a body of Jacobites who had made Charlemont their head-quarters, and a party of Blaney's men attacked near Glasslough a large force of James's adherents and defeated them, inflicting great loss. The terror inspired by the approach of Hamilton's army reduced Blaney's followers to some 300 foot and the same number of horse, with which he left Armagh on the 15th of March, to make his way to Coleraine. Information of his movements being conveyed to the Jacobites, the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy marched to intercept him by seizing the bridge at Artrea, between Dungannon and Moneymore. Blaney, however, succeeded in reaching the bridge before them, and although they were numerically much stronger he attacked them and put them to flight with considerable loss, after which he proceeded to Coleraine, where the news of his victory cheered those who had awaited his arrival.

The inhabitants of Enniskillen, meanwhile, maintained their old courageous front, and, notwithstanding orders from Lundy directing them to abandon the town and retire upon Londonderry, determined to defend a position which might prove of service to their co-religionists, inasmuch as it stood

in the way of an advance from Connaught. On the 20th of March, we are told, "all the Protestants in the county of Cavan, in pitiful stormy weather and in great disorder, came running to Enniskillen and the villages about, to the no small surprise of us all, about three or four troops of horse coming before, followed with about as many foot companies, and then the whole inhabitants with their women and children, to their middle in clay and dirt, with pitiful lamentations, and little or no provision to sustain them. Our governor ordered them free quarter for man and horse in the town and country about; many of them were indifferently well armed, and we were joyful that they were come to us, being in hopes that they would join us in defence of our country. But on inquiring into the reasons of their leaving their country as they did (where they had several good strengths that might for some time have been defended,) their officers told us that they had orders from Colonel Lundy for so doing, and did endeavour (though to no purpose) to persuade our governor to do the same with Enniskillen. But that which hastened them away in so great disorder, was the Lord Gillmoy's coming with a part of the Irish army into the county of Cavan, and surprising a house that belonged to Mr. Dixy, Dean of Kilmore, and made prisoner the Dean's eldest son (who was captain of a troop of horse,) Edward Charleton his cornet, and about eight or ten of his troopers; upon news of which all the garrisons about broke up, some setting fire to their own houses, and the whole country fled to us without knowing who or what number of men were come against them."

The Lord Gillmoy alluded to was Pierce Butler, third Viscount Galmoy, a descendant of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde. He was made a Privy Councillor by James, who later created him Earl of Newcastle. As colonel of a troop of Irish Guards he was guilty of great barbarity, and proved the truth of Oldmixon's remark about him, that "he was a

monster whom no titles could ennoble". Having stationed himself at Belturbet, as a point from whence to proceed against Enniskillen, he began by laying siege to Crom, a castle on the banks of the lower Lough Erne, about sixteen miles from Enniskillen. "This place", says a contemporary, "was under our protection, and has been ever since our frontier garrison towards Dublin, and his Lordship thinking to frighten that garrison to a compliance with his demands, sent two cannons made of tin, near a yard long in the chace, and about eight inches wide, strongly bound about with small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram, near the colour of a cannon. These two mock cannons he drew towards Crom with eight horses apiece, making a great noise as if they were drawn with much difficulty.

"As soon as they came before Crom, he threatened to batter the castle with these two battering guns, and had the vanity to fire one of them, which burst, and had like (as 'twas said) to have spoiled the gunner. But those within the castle, depending upon aid from Enniskillen, refused to surrender, and fired out at them from the castle, killing several. Gillmoy continues the siege, and on Friday the 22nd of March, sent a letter to the governor of Enniskillen in the nature of a summons, acquainting him that King James was come to Dublin, and that he was come with an army to reduce that country to his obedience, and that by his commission he had power to grant them better conditions than they might ever expect from him afterwards, if they were reduced by force.

"Upon receipt of this summons, our governor called his officers together to consult what was fit to be done, and all of them did unanimously conclude not to desert Enniskillen, nor to submit to any but to King William and Queen Mary, whom they had now proclaimed; and accordingly returned Lord Gillmoy an answer, that they owed allegiance to none but them, nor would they submit to any but to their

Majesties, or those commissioned by them, and so did prepare themselves the best they could to defend the town, and to use what means they could to relieve Crom."

"On Saturday, the 23rd of March," continues our chronicler, "early in the morning, many of the County of Cavan men left Enniskillen, and marched towards Derry, in obedience (as they said,) to Colonel Lundy's orders. And the same day in the afternoon, our governor drew out all the horse and foot he had under his command, on the common hill near Enniskillen, keeping them all day at their arms, expecting every hour to hear that the lord Gillmoy was on his march towards us, and resolved to give him battle before he came near the town; for ever since we took up Enniskillen, we judged it advisable rather to fight the enemy at a distance from it, than to let them lay siege to it, and we have hitherto done accordingly. But seeing no enemy appear all that day, and our scouts returning and bringing us word that Gillmoy came only the length of Lisnaskea, a village ten miles distant from the town, and that upon the news of our drawing out against him, he retreated back with his men to the siege of Crom. Our governor therefore, in the night, sent a detachment of about two hundred of his best armed men, some by land, and some in boats, towards Crom, hoping they might get into the castle in the night; but it being day before they got there, the enemy used all the endeavours they could to keep our boats from landing at the castle, firing many vollies at them, but being bad marksmen, killed only one old boatman, and did our men no further harm, but our men shot several of them dead from the boats, landed at the castle, and having joined those that were within, they sallied out together, and beat them from their trenches; killed between thirty and forty of them, got the fire-arms of those that they killed, took their two mock cannon (one of which was left at Crom, and the other brought to the castle of Enniskillen), got two suits of

armour, and several other things of value, and immediately after this the Lord Gillmoy quitted the thoughts of any further siege against Crom, and retreated to Belturbet."

Of Galmoy's barbarity and perfidy many tales are told. The following is a fair example of his methods, and that it is true in every detail we have ample evidence. "At this time", says the same authority, "one Brian MacConagher Maguire (who had been a captain in the Irish army,) was a prisoner with us at Crom. Him the Lord Gillmoy had a desire to release, and the next day he sent an express to captain Crighton (the proprietor of the Castle of Crom, and governor thereof,) proposing to exchange captain Dixie for this Captain Maguire, and desiring, if the change were approved of, that Captain Maguire might be sent to him, promising upon his honour to return us Captain Dixie for him.

"The exchange was very acceptable to the governor, and all that were in the castle of Crom, but yet they would conclude nothing until they had the consent of the governor of Enniskillen, and the other officers that were there, and so sent an express from Crom to Enniskillen for their resolution. The messenger was immediately sent back to Captain Crighton, with orders from the governor to go on with the exchange. Accordingly Captain Crighton sent Maguire to the lord Gillmoy, desiring that Captain Dixie might be returned to him, according to his promise under his hand, which letter is in the hands of the governor of Enniskillen. But the lord Gillmoy, as soon as he had Maguire in his hands, called a council of war on Captain Dixie and his cornet, Mr. Charleton, where they were both found guilty, and sentence of death passed upon them, for levying men by the Prince of Orange's commission, which was found in their pockets; and immediately they were desired to prepare to die against the next day; but in the meantime great endeavours were used, and promises made them of

life and preferment, if they would turn Papists and adhere to King James. But they though both young men, resolutely rejected the offer, and preferred their religion to the saving of their lives." Captain Dixie, it must be recalled, was a son of the Dean of Kilmore.

"And here", continues our chronicler of the deeds of these brave Inniskillings, "I cannot but remember Maguire's carriage, who (as it was reported) showed an extraordinary concern for the Lord Gillmoy's breach of faith; he went to him, and told him that his putting Mr. Dixie to death (after his promise under his hand to return him,) would be a perpetual stain to his honour, and rather than he should do so base a thing, prayed that he might be returned a prisoner back to Crom, and that Mr. Dixie's life might be saved, for he did not desire to purchase his freedom by so great injustice. But the Lord Gillmoy, deaf to anything that could be said on their behalf, caused both the young gentlemen to be hanged on Mr. Russell's sign-post in Belturbet, and, when they were dead, commanded to take their corpses into the kitchen, to cut off both their heads, and ordered them to be thrown out into the street to the soldiers to play at foot-ball with, and when the soldiers for some time had pleased themselves with this barbarous sport, the heads were set up on the market-house in Belturbet."

Thus history repeats itself. This piece of savagery was but a repetition of what had happened in Fermanagh exactly one hundred years earlier, when "Captain Willis, having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent on commission to be sheriff there, and preyed the country. They cut off the head of Edmund Hugh M'Guire, and hurled it from place to place as a football",[1] a striking instance of how—

. . . ill keeps echoing ill
And never lets our ears have done with noise.

[1] *Vide* Vol. II, p. 6.

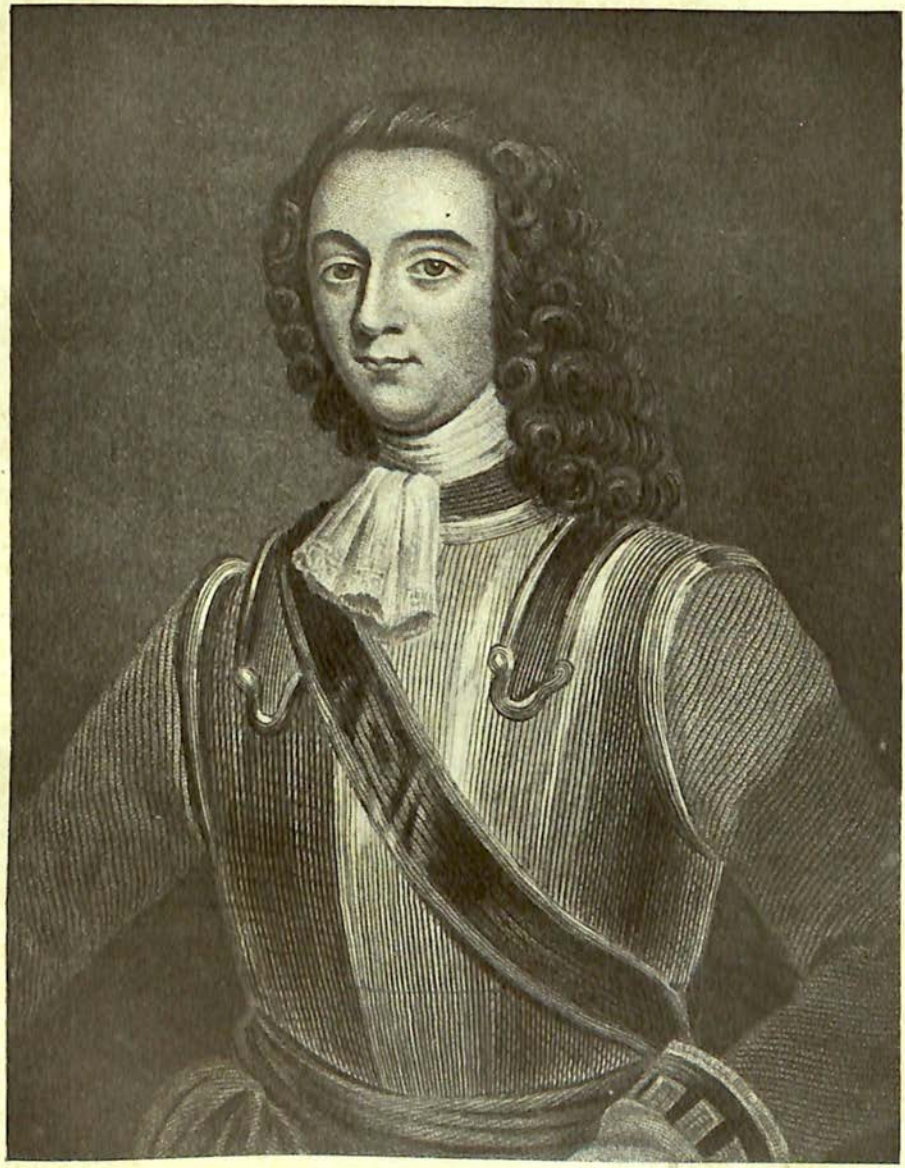
CHAPTER XXVII

King James in Ulster

King William sends Ammunition, Muskets, and Money to Londonderry—Rawdon abandons Coleraine—David Cairnes returns to Londonderry—He brings a Letter from the Secretary of State—King James lands at Kinsale—He repairs to Dublin—He determines to lay Siege to Londonderry—James's French Generals deride the Defences of Derry—Count Rosen Commander-in-Chief of the Jacobite Army—Transports with Two Regiments from William arrive at Londonderry—Lundy's Treachery—The Regiments return to England.

Colonel Robert Lundy, who had assumed the title of Governor of Londonderry, and had declared his adhesion to the new Government, was sent a commission from William and Mary which confirmed him in his office. The instrument was sent in the care of Captain James Hamilton, who arrived at Londonderry on the 21st of March, 1689, with a large quantity of ammunition, some specie, and a number of muskets. Lundy was sworn into office on Hamilton's ship, but declined to take the oath publicly when requested to do so by the Protestant committee on the day following. Some of Lundy's officers also refused to take the oath, although the mayor and aldermen and all the city officers were sworn, and occasion was taken to have William and Mary a second time publicly proclaimed. The conduct of Lundy and his officers created much suspicion, and led to their being closely watched.

On the 27th of March, Coleraine, in which Sir Arthur Rawdon and his handful of troops had taken refuge after their defeat by Hamilton, and which they still occupied, was invested by a portion of the Jacobite army under their general's command. The little garrison made a brave



DAVID CAIRNS

From a copy of the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

resistance, and, sallying forth, drove away the besiegers with some loss. It was, however, evident that troops so small in numbers, and so ill provided with arms and other necessaries, could not possibly hold out for long, and it was decided with much reluctance to abandon the town. In the face of many difficulties Rawdon's small band of followers effected a successful retreat to Londonderry through a country full of hostile forces. Other towns followed. The people of Omagh destroyed their dwellings with the object of leaving them unfit for use by the adherents of James. The people of Cavan, as we have seen, migrated in a body to Enniskillen. All Lisburn fled to Antrim, and, when the tide of battle rolled nearer, Lisburn and Antrim fled to Londonderry, which thus became a City of Refuge, while at the same time its own difficulties increased daily.

The spirits of those in Londonderry were raised by the arrival of David Cairnes from London with fresh instructions from William and assurances of speedy assistance. He was also the bearer of a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, addressed to Lundy as Governor. It ran as follows: "I am commanded by the King to acquaint you that His Majesty's great concern hath been for Ireland, and particularly for the Province of Ulster, which he looks upon as most capable to defend itself against the common enemy. And that they might be the better enabled to do it, there are two regiments already at the sea-side, ready to embark, in order to their transportation into that province, with which will be sent a good quantity of arms and ammunition. And they will be speedily followed by so considerable a body as (by the blessing of God) may be able to rescue the whole kingdom and resettle the Protestant interest there.

"His Majesty does very much rely upon your fidelity and resolution, not only that you shall acquit yourself according to the character he has received of you, but that you should encourage and influence others in this difficult conjuncture to

discharge their duty to their country, their religion, and their posterity, all which call upon them for a more than ordinary vigour to keep out that deluge of Popery and slavery which so nearly threatens them. And you may assure them, that besides His Majesty's care for their preservation, who hath a due tenderness and regard for them, (as well in consideration that they are his subjects, as that they are now exposed for the sake of that religion which he himself professes) the whole bent of this nation inclines them to employ their utmost endeavours for their deliverance; and it was but this very morning that His Majesty hath most effectually recommended the case of Ireland to the two Houses of Parliament. And I do not doubt but that they will thereupon immediately come to such resolutions as will show to all the world that they espouse their interest as their own."

Cairnes found the citizens of Londonderry in a state of great despondency, which frame of mind was much encouraged by Lundy, who had already granted passes for departure to some of his officers. Cairnes, however, cheered all by his presence, and impressed upon the citizens the righteousness of their cause, urging them not to forsake it, and he contrived to inspire both soldiers and citizens with fresh courage to endure the many and great privations to which daily they were subjected. A council of war was held the night of his arrival, and Lundy and such of his officers as remained were induced to sign a declaration to the effect that "we, the officers hereunto subscribing, pursuant to a resolution taken and agreed upon at a council of war at Londonderry, held this day, do hereby mutually promise and engage to stand by each other with our forces against the common enemy, and will not leave the kingdom nor desert the public service until our affairs are in a settled and secure posture; and if any of us shall do the contrary, the person so leaving the kingdom or deserting the service, without consent of a council of war, is to be deemed a coward, and disaffected to Their

Majesties' service and the Protestant interest. Dated the 10th of April, 1689."

James, who had found refuge at the Court of Louis XIV, and had been treated with more than fraternal solicitude by the French King, had with his cordial assistance landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, and after a sojourn in Dublin, which partook of the nature of a tragi-comedy, was now marching under adverse circumstances towards Londonderry, which he had been assured would, on his appearance before its walls, surrender at once. He was accompanied by Count Avaux, who, as French envoy at the Hague, had often apprised James of the movements of his enemies, and by that veteran warrior, the Count of Rosen, whom James made commander-in-chief of his forces. Under Rosen was Maumont, who held the rank of lieutenant-general, and a brigadier, the Marquis de Pusignan. Louis had provided James with between four and five hundred captains, lieutenants, cadets, and gunners for the purpose of organizing and disciplining his troops in Ireland, and he also gave him arms for 10,000 men and large quantities of ammunition. In addition James came provided by the French monarch's munificence with 500,000 crowns in gold, equivalent to about £112,000.

James's journey to Londonderry was not undertaken without trouble. John, Lord Melfort, brother of the Earl of Perth, who, on account of his alleged conversion to Roman Catholicism, had long held a high place in James's esteem, attended him in Ireland, and had persuaded His Majesty to proceed to Ulster. Tyrconnell, whom James had seized the opportunity of his visit to Ireland to create a duke, on the contrary advised the King to stay in the capital. Avaux upheld Tyrconnell, but all to no purpose; James determined to go, and accordingly the royal party set out, leaving Tyrconnell in charge at Dublin, and arrived at Charlemont on the 13th of April. The country through which they passed presented a picture of desolation, and led one of the French officers to

remark: "This is like travelling through the deserts of Arabia". No human beings were to be seen along the road, nor any domestic animals. Any which the inhabitants of the various districts had abandoned had been stolen by "tories" or meaner thieves. Dwellings and farm-houses were roofless and windowless, affording no shelter to the traveller, and food for man or horse could not be procured. Avaux was disgusted to find that he could not get even a truss of hay for his horses without sending five or six miles. The bread was made of horse-corn, and the only drink was water. The French officers, accustomed to comfortable travel, complained loudly, and Avaux loudest of all. Even if food and drink had been procurable, the journey would have been rendered miserable on account of the wretched state of the roads, and the water in the fords was frequently breast-high. In addition to all these ills, the weather was bad, and when the King and his retinue arrived at Omagh they found it a ruin incapable of sheltering or supplying the simplest needs of any human being. Everything had been wilfully destroyed before the inhabitants had forsaken the place. Here the royal party remained until the 16th, despite the fact that they were, even in the best shelter they could find, exposed to wind and rain. At last the patience of Avaux was exhausted, and he returned to Dublin, while the King pressed on to Londonderry.

James, on his arrival, found Hamilton's men encamped some miles south of the city, and at once proceeded to deal with the situation. The first step he took was to place his French generals at the head of the army. A council of war was held, at which Rosen expressed the opinion that the sight of the forces arrayed against them would speedily terrify the defenders of Londonderry into submission, and he voiced the general opinion. Hamilton, however, who had gained some experience of Ulstermen during the past few weeks, was by no means so sanguine. Much depended on the attitude

adopted by Lundy, and even with regard to any action he might take there was some uncertainty. The city itself appeared by no means impregnable. The fortifications were of the most primitive type, consisting of ancient walls on which weeds flourished, long-disused drawbridges with rusty, untrustworthy chains, and not even a ditch before the gates to do service for a moat. The downfall of Londonderry was regarded by the French generals with the same complacency and certainty as a child regards the fall of the house he has erected with a pack of cards. The conquest of Ulster, although an exploit of greatest importance towards James's regaining possession of the throne, and rendering him absolute master of Ireland, they considered a task easy of accomplishment.

On the 14th of April, the day on which James had reached Omagh, transports from England arrived carrying two regiments of foot under the command of Colonels Cunningham and Richards, and anchored in Lough Foyle near Red Castle on the 15th, when Cunningham immediately wrote "from on board the *Swallow*" to Lundy, as Governor of Londonderry, saying: "Hearing you have taken the field, in order to fight the enemy, I have thought it fit for Their Majesties' service to let you know there are two well-disciplined regiments here on board, that may join you in two days at farthest. I am sure they will be of great use in any occasion, but especially for the encouragement of raw men, as I judge most of yours are; therefore it is my opinion that you only stop the passes at the fords of Finn, till I can join you, and afterwards, if giving battle be necessary, you will be in a much better posture for it than before. I must ask your pardon if I am too free in my advice; according to the remote prospect I have of things, this seems most reasonable to me, but as Their Majesties have left the whole direction of matters to you, so you shall find that no man living will more cheerfully obey you than your most humble servant, John Cunningham."

At a council of war held in Londonderry on the 13th, it had been resolved to march out under the command of Lundy to fight the enemy, but no steps appear to have been taken towards carrying out this resolution. Lundy had marched out early in the day ostensibly to defend the passes of the River Finn, but instead of making any effort to do so, he drew off his men in such haste and confusion that when he returned to Londonderry in the afternoon, many of his officers and men, in the closing of the gates, were left outside. He then wrote ambiguously and contradictorily to Cunningham, first telling him to land his men, and then assuring him that the place was untenable, and referring him to a private communication forwarded by the officer who was the bearer of his letter. This contained orders to the two colonels not to land their men, but to come themselves with some of their officers into the city to attend a council of war.

To this council only two officers of the garrison were called, and others who requested admission were refused. Thirteen officers of the two regiments were present, with the town-clerk, whose assistance was needed to frame the minutes. Lundy gave them a false account of the condition of the city, which he represented as poor in military stores, defences, and provisions, the last being, he declared, not sufficient to last for ten days. The English officers knew nothing of the state of the city themselves, and with the exception of Colonel Richards, who opposed it, saying: "Understand this, to give up Londonderry is to give up Ireland", they were easily persuaded to adopt the following resolution:—

"Upon inquiry it appears that there is not provision in the garrison of Londonderry for the present garrison and the two regiments on board for above a week, or ten days at most; and it appearing that the place is not tenable against a well-appointed army, therefore it is concluded upon and resolved, that it is not convenient for His Majesty's service, but the

contrary, to land the two regiments under Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, their commanders, now on board in the river of Lough Foyle; that, considering the present circumstances of affairs, and the likelihood the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient that the principal officers shall privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make terms the better with the enemy; and that this we judge most convenient for His Majesty's service, as the present state of affairs now is."

Cunningham, Richards, and their officers retired from the council to their ships, and several of the officers of the town followed them. After this, Lundy called a select number of the council together, by whom it was resolved to send James an offer of surrender. Meanwhile Lundy privately sent a messenger to James's quarters with assurances that the city should be peaceably surrendered on the first summons. Rumours multiplied, and the citizens, becoming uneasy on account of the number of the city officers that were stealing away to the ships, came to the conclusion that they had been betrayed by their Governor. Both garrison and citizens rose, and seeing some of their own officers about to leave the city, endeavoured to hinder their departure, killing one and wounding another in their anxiety to stop them. Some of the officers who remained at their posts now sent to Cunningham, acquainting him with their suspicions regarding Lundy, and offering him the command if he landed his two regiments. This he replied he could not do, as his instructions were in all things to take his instructions solely from the Governor. On the 18th of April the transports left for Green Castle, and the day following they sailed for England, carrying away the officers and men sent by King William for the relief of Londonderry.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Siege of Londonderry

Londonderry invested—Commanders of the Various Jacobite Regiments—Disposition of the Jacobite Forces—Divided Counsels—Arrival of Captain Adam Murray—He supports the Citizens—Lundy and the Council defeated—Lundy deposed and Baker elected Governor—Rev. George Walker, Assistant Governor—James and his Army greeted with Cannon-balls—He leaves for Dublin—Surrender of Culmore Fort and Castlederg—First Sally from the City—Maumont killed—The Jacobites lose 200 Men and some Officers—Murray rescued by Walker.

Londonderry was now surrounded, except on the water side, by horse and foot, which presented a most formidable appearance to a garrison to whom warfare was unfamiliar, and who were distracted by fierce faction fights within the city walls. The Council, led by Lundy, signed an offer of surrender and entrusted it to Captain White for delivery to General Hamilton, instructing him at the same time to stipulate that the besieging army should not, until its conditions were fulfilled, advance within four miles of the city. Rosen had, in the meantime, distributed his forces in such a way as to invest the city from the river under Balloughry to the shore at Culmore.

The commanders of the various regiments included Colonel Richard Hamilton; Lord Galmoy, at the head of a troop of guards; Sir Michael Creagh, Lord Mayor of Dublin and paymaster of the Jacobite army, who held the rank of Colonel of the 33rd regiment of foot; Donough, Earl of Clancarty, Colonel of the 4th regiment of foot, who on James's arrival in Ireland received and entertained him, and was made

a lord of the bedchamber; Jenico Preston, Lord Gormanston, premier Viscount of Ireland, Colonel of the 9th regiment of foot; Sir Maurice Eustace (son of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland), Colonel of the 19th regiment of foot; Edward Butler, related to Viscounts Ikerrin and Mountgarret, and to Lord Dunboyne and other Butlers of the Barrow, Colonel of the 27th regiment of foot; Charles Cavanagh of Wicklow, Colonel of the 16th regiment of horse; Ramsay, Colonel of a Scottish regiment which bore his name and which had served with distinction in Holland; Nicholas Fitzgerald, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 12th regiment of foot, of which Lord Bellew was Colonel; Dudney Bagnal, Colonel of the 30th regiment of foot; and Lord Slane.

According to a map of Londonderry, drawn at the time of the siege by Captain Francis Neville, the order in which the troops of the Jacobite army were stationed was as follows: Lord Galmoy's horse and Sir Michael Creagh's regiment of foot extended from Ballougry hill to the water; then came the regiments commanded by Colonels Barrington, Butler, Ramsay, Lord Slane, Hamilton, and Gormanston. Sir Maurice Eustace and his regiment had charge of the magazine, between Hamilton's quarters and a mill a little to the north of the Bishop's demesne. The Bishop himself had left the scene of battle and was now officiating in a chapel in London.

In Hamilton's front was a strong post, and between it and Pennyburn mill were Cavanagh and his regiment. Butler's was encamped near Charles-fort, and round to the bank of the river, and on the opposite side a little lower down, was a regiment of dragoons under the command of Sir Neill O'Neill. Lord Clancarty and his men occupied a position on the road to Greencastle, about half-way between Charles-fort and an old chapel on the rising ground above Culmore; and between this chapel and the river Fitzgerald's and Bagnal's regiments shut out all communication by land between Culmore and the

city. The fort had a mound of sod-work for its protection on the land side, and the batteries on the side towards the water were very formidable to vessels coming up the river.

Londonderry at this juncture presents the strange spectacle of a city divided against itself, and it would undoubtedly have succumbed to the fate to which all so situated are destined, had not a succession of deliverers arrived to avert the catastrophe. The first to appear on the scene was Captain Adam Murray, a brave officer in command of one of the outposts of the city, who, on learning the state of affairs, advanced at the head of a strong body of horse, followed by his infantry, determined to oppose the surrender. Lundy and the Council immediately sent him orders to retire out of sight of the citizens; but seeing soldiers and civilians beckoning from the walls he marched to one of the gates, which was at once thrown open to him by Captain Morrison, who commanded the guard. As Murray rode through the streets he was greeted by the populace with enthusiastic shouts of welcome, to which he responded by declaring that his life and his sword were at their service, and calling upon all who cried "No surrender!" to tie a white band on the left arm as a badge betokening their principles. In adopting this plan he was joined by other officers, and the white sign soon appeared on every arm.

Lundy, being advised of what had happened, summoned Captain Murray to appear before the Council, who endeavoured when he came to induce him to sign the resolution to capitulate, which he not only refused to do, but, boldly addressing the Governor, he told him that his actions proved him to be a traitor to his commission, and pointed out to him his culpability in not securing the passes, and in not giving military aid to outlying districts. Finally he called upon Lundy to prove his loyalty by making a sudden sally from the city to drive the Jacobites away. Lundy, disconcerted, was silent, and Murray stalked from the council-chamber threatening to apprise the citizens of the treachery of their

governor. This he did, and strengthened his own position by bringing into the city all the men under his command. He then replaced the guards at the gates with his own men, and took all possible measures to secure the safety of the city during the night.

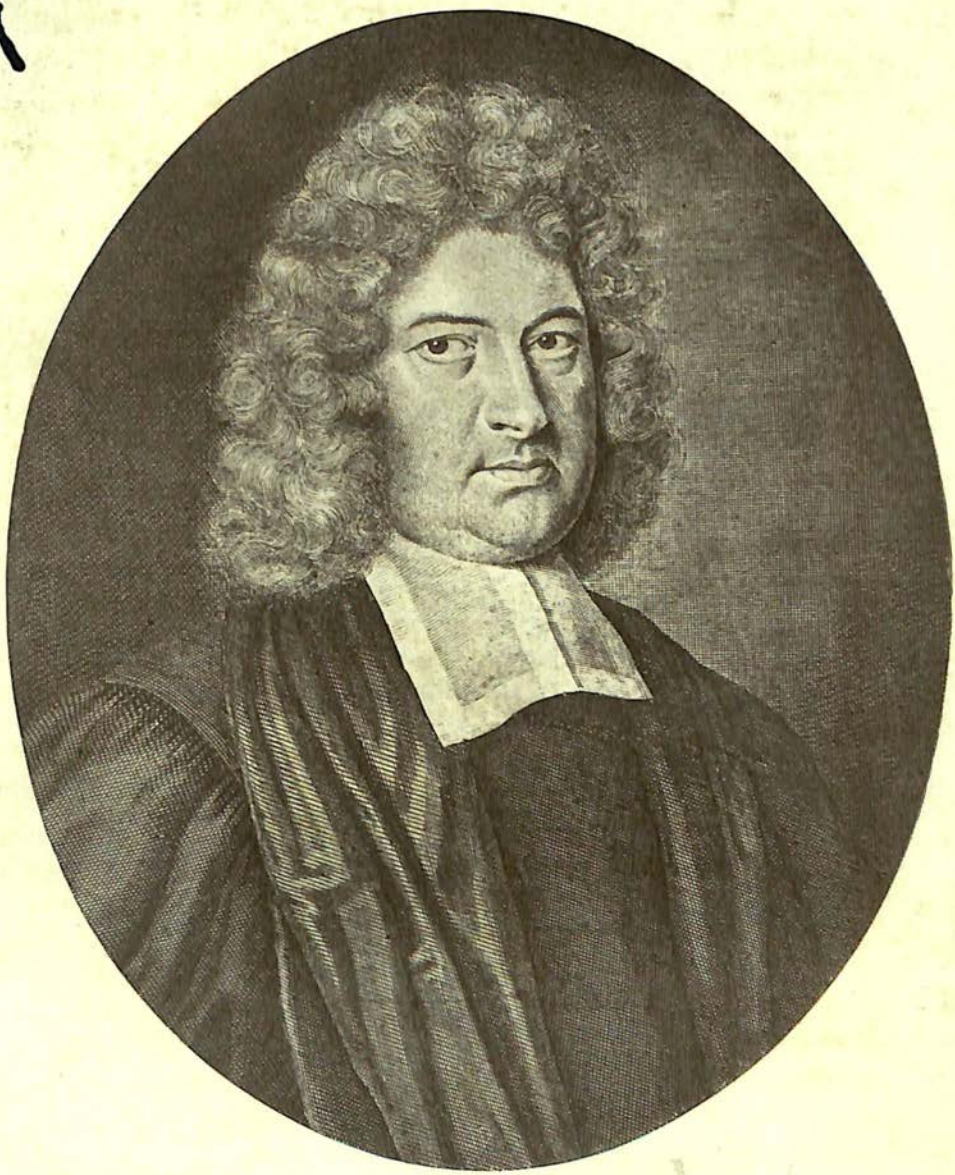
The treacherous governor and craven council continued their deliberations regarding surrender undeterred by the threats of Murray. They determined, as requested by James, to send a score of citizens to treat for terms. But their deliberations were rudely interrupted speedily by an uproar in the streets surrounding the building in which they were assembled shamefully to sell the city, and, their very lives being threatened by the indignant crowds, they broke up the meeting and fled by devious ways to escape the fury of the maddened multitude who demanded their blood. Lundy, successful in reaching the governor's house, dared not again to leave it, and on the morrow the citizens assembled and, formally deposing him, proceeded to elect a governor whose actions would be more in accord with their wishes.

Their choice fell on Captain Murray, but that gallant soldier declined the honour, saying that he was more fitted to take the field than to direct the defence of the city. Murray, however, offered to command the horse. The first council of war was then held, at which another officer, distinguished by his ability and bravery, Major Henry Baker, was unanimously elected Governor. Baker, a descendant of the Lieutenant Baker who so ably held his own in the attack made on Derry by Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, in April, 1608, begged, on accepting office, to be permitted to have a colleague in the discharge of the duties; whereupon the assembly at once selected the Rev. George Walker, Rector of the parish of Donaghmore, who, seized with military ardour, had when danger first seemed imminent raised a regiment himself, and had thrown himself into the city to support the Protestant cause with swordsmanship as well as sermonizing. Baker took the

chief military command, Walker's duty being the doling out of supplies from the magazines and the preservation of internal tranquillity. Those capable of bearing arms were distributed into eight regiments, to which officers of various ranks were appointed. Thus within a few hours a complete revolution was affected in Londonderry, and all attempts to surrender were stultified.

Ignoring, or ignorant of, these proceedings the Council met on the morning of the 19th of April, 1689, and nominated the twenty commissioners to be sent to the Jacobite camp; but when this peace-at-any-price party presented themselves at the city gate, and sought egress, they were not only refused permission to leave, but were ignominiously and violently driven back by an irate mob, and had perforce to abandon their mission. The council had held its last meeting, and the majority of the members returned to the obscurity from which they sprang; others, however, although they had signed the resolution to surrender, hastened to correct their errors and joined the popular movement. Lundy, realizing that he was defeated, and possibly having reason to believe that his life was in jeopardy, "stole off", says Dalrymple, "with a load upon his back, a disgraceful disguise, and suited to him who bore it". Walker says that he got out with a burden of matches on his shoulders, in a sally towards Culmore, and that his last act was a successful endeavour to persuade the officer in command to surrender that fortress. Captain Ash accuses Mr. Galbraith, an attorney, and two persons named Adair of selling Culmore to the Jacobite army. It is not, however, probable that such a transaction should have escaped the notice and condemnation of Walker and Mackenzie, who neither of them refer to it.

The officers of the besieging army, as well as James himself, appear to have been ignorant of what had occurred on this and the preceding day in the city which they hoped to gain so easily. Rosen, regardless of the stipulation made



REV. GEORGE WALKER

From an engraving of the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

by Richard Hamilton, ordered the troops to advance towards the city, and they posted themselves very near to it, under the shelter of a windmill and a house near it. He detached other bodies of his men along the low lands called the Bog-side, near the Butcher's gate. This movement being observed, a trumpeter was dispatched from the city to the King with a demand that the troops should advance no farther. Rosen took no notice of the request, and the trumpeter later was killed. The army continued to advance, and James, who, confident of success, had approached within a hundred yards of the southern gate, was received with a shout of "No surrender!" and with a fire from the nearest bastion. Several of the besieging army fell by this fire, and Captain Troy, an officer of the King's staff, dropped dead by His Majesty's side. James and his suite therefore hastened to get out of reach of the cannon-balls. This salutation, on account of Lundy's representations, was totally unexpected, he having the preceding night caused the gates of the city to be left open, till Major Crofton secured them and doubled the guard. It had such an effect on the Jacobite forces that they were thrown into great confusion.

James, to use the language of his diary, "had eat nothing for the whole of that day", and notwithstanding that fact, and the fatigue of the two preceding days, had remained during the entire day on horseback, exposed to cannon, and under heavy and incessant rain, waiting for the surrender of which he had been assured. He now withdrew his troops, and retired to St. Johnston to await the arrival of artillery which he expected, and to provide other necessaries for a siege or a blockade. Archdeacon Hamilton left the city, and, taking a protection from the King, entertained him during his stay at the castle of Mongevelin, a short distance from St. Johnston. Here, remembering how much the troops he had with him had been harassed on the preceding day, James permitted them to remain.

On the 20th a portion of the Jacobite army marched towards Pennyburn Hill, and pitched their tents there with the object of blocking the passage to Culmore. An envoy approached the walls in the person of Claude Hamilton, Lord Strabane, one of the few Roman Catholic peers of Ireland. As many among the defenders were his tenants, it was deemed that his lordship's words might carry weight. Murray, who had been appointed to the command of one of the eight regiments into which the garrison was distributed, advanced from the gate to meet the flag of truce, and a short conference took place. Strabane had been authorized to make tempting offers. He promised the King's pardon, protection, and favour to those who would submit to their lawful sovereign and surrender the city. Murray himself should have a colonel's commission and a thousand pounds in cash. "The men of Londonderry", answered Murray, "have done nothing that requires a pardon, and own no Sovereign but King William and Queen Mary," adding, as he observed during the parley the Jacobites draw their cannon forward: "It will not be safe for Your Lordship to stay longer, or to return on the same errand. Let me have the honour of seeing you through the lines."

The first sally from the city was now made by a body of horse and foot, under the command of Murray, the captains of foot being Archibald Saunderson, William Beatty, and Thomas and David Blair. Lieutenant-Colonel Cairnes and Captain Philip Dunbar were posted on an eminence with a body of reserve. The horse, which numbered 300, were divided into two squadrons. With the first of these Murray charged the enemy himself, the second being under the command of Major Nathaniel Bull, to whom, as well as to his father, Major Samuel Bull, the city of Londonderry was indebted for many eminent services. The rear was brought up by Captain Cochran, of Ballyrath, County

Armagh, who, when the men under his command fled, advanced to the scene of action at the head of a few gallant fellows, when his horse was killed under him and he himself was wounded. The Jacobites stood their ground resolutely, and a furious and sanguinary encounter took place. Maumont, at the head of his troops, charged with all his chivalry direct to the spot where the fight was raging, but he was struck in the head by a musket-ball and fell dead from his saddle.

In the meantime the Jacobite horse had pursued the Londonderry cavalry towards the walls of the city, to which they had retreated; but they were almost all killed by a body of infantry who had moved from a mill, where they had done great execution, to the strand, near the Bog-side, in which they lined the ditches and commanded the pass. In the commencement of the action the Jacobites brought a piece of cannon to the point on the other side of the river opposite to the strand, and frequently fired at the besieged with effect; but a gun from the walls at length dismounted the piece, killing the gunner and others in his vicinity. The Jacobites lost, besides Maumont, Majors Taafe and Wogan, Captain Fitzgerald, Quartermaster Cassore, and about 200 men. Murray escaped with difficulty. His horse was killed under him, and he was naturally a target for every marksman. He was beset by enemies, but ably defended himself, until Walker, who perceived the peril he was in, collecting a few horse, rode to his rescue. The total loss of the Londonderry men did not exceed a dozen, among them being Lieutenant M'Phedris, a Mr. Mackey, and one Harkness, but the number of wounded was considerable. Three standards were secured, with a great spoil of horses, saddles, cloaks, arms, valuables, and money. In the Duke of Berwick's *Memoirs* it is stated: "There was not one among the French engaged this day that was not either wounded himself, or had not his horse wounded".

CHAPTER XXIX

The Siege of Londonderry (*Cont.*)

Daily Life in Londonderry—Sallies and Skirmishes—Activity of the Jacobites—Duties performed inside the Walls of the City—Brigadier-General Ramsay killed—Pusignan, shot through the body, dies in consequence of inattention—Ballyshannon relieved by the Inniskillings—Redhills surrenders to Gustavus Hamilton—Ballynacarrig plundered and fired—Inniskillings dismount the Jacobite Horse—An Extract from Mackenzie's Account of the Siege.

The dangers of the siege did not entirely put an end to religious disputes and jealousies among the citizens. Within a day or two after the commencement of hostilities the Governor was obliged to interfere in order to settle a dispute between the Episcopalians and the Nonconformists, arising out of their rival claims to the possession of the Cathedral, the matter being adjusted by the members of the Anglican Church having the use of the building in the morning and the Dissenters in the evening. The aspect of the Cathedral was remarkable. Cannon were planted on the summit of a broad tower which has since given place to one of different proportions, and ammunition was stored in the vaults.

On the 24th of April, Ash tells us, the Jacobites began to throw bombs into the city, a practice which in a short time rendered the citizens familiar with these missiles. On the day following, James arrived in Drogheda, from which he proceeded after a night's rest to Dublin. Lord Mountcashel was appointed muster-master of artillery, and James decided to send several pieces of cannon to Londonderry

by sea. This project, however, was frustrated by the appearance of some English vessels in the channel.

On the 25th, Colonel Murray, with some cavalry and a strong body of foot, which it was his custom to support with dragoons, sallied out of the city and drove the Jacobites from the trenches into which they had descended. Some of the foot having followed the retreating forces too far, a party of Jacobite horse suddenly forced them to fall back upon the main body, who formed themselves in line behind a ditch on the roadside, and fired with such effect upon the pursuers that they were thrown into confusion and were obliged to retreat. The Londonderry men then pursued them to Pennyburn Mill, and pressed so hard upon them that their dragoons, who themselves had just been beaten out of an old mill about a mile higher up, found it necessary to abandon their horses and relieve their distressed comrades at Pennyburn. A party of the besieged which went out at the close of the day to cover the retreat of those who were engaged at Pennyburn were repulsed, but without loss, by a body of horse which had been dispatched from the Jacobite camp, each horseman carrying a foot-soldier behind him. Those who distinguished themselves on this occasion were Major Bull and Captains Obrey, John Kennedy, Archibald Sanderson, Michael Cunningham, William Beatty, and William Moore. The fight, both at the old and the new mill, was very severe, and lasted for a long time. Mackenzie says the loss on the Londonderry side was but two men killed and eight or ten wounded; Ash asserts that Cornet Brown and three men were killed. The loss on the Jacobite side is not stated. John Parker was accused of behaving treacherously in this engagement, and was threatened with a court martial, upon which he left the city at night and went over to the Jacobites.

Hostilities were carried on thus with unabated vigour on both sides and with varying success during the month. Each sunrise brought its hours of weal or woe for the besieged.

Cannon-balls and bombs dropped in strange places, some spreading death around them as they fell, some rolling aside to burst where they did little injury, making men marvel at the ways of Providence. Trenches were made and batteries erected as part of life's daily duties, and the work was done with the same exactitude and precision as if each of the defenders of the city had been born and bred a soldier. The citizens became inured to hardship, a full meal was a forgotten luxury, sleep a perpetual nightmare, loss of life or limb commonplace occurrences. But life's realities remained, and for these they fought—freedom of thought and liberty of action—and while these were to be enjoyed they held life was worth living, and without them death was a deliverance.

In the night of the 5th of May the besiegers drew a trench across Windmill Hill from the bog to the river, and there began to erect a battery merely to annoy the citizens, for the walls were too strong for the guns trained on them. The besieged, in merry mood, advised their adversaries at work in trench and battery to save themselves time, labour, and expense, inviting them at the same time to come in through the gates and try conclusions with them. A little after midnight, no doubt provoked by this banter, Brigadier-General Ramsay, presenting himself before the windmill, dislodged the guards there, and, occupying the place, completed before sunrise the works there begun. The guard driven from the mill retired to the Bishopsgate, and those who had driven them in entrenched themselves on the ground they had gained by making a double ditch across the high road. This ditch was levelled upon fifteen of their dead bodies next day.

At dawn on Monday, the 6th of May, the besieged, fearing that the battery erected near the windmill might injure that portion of the city nearest it, determined to demolish it, and on seeing a large number of the Jacobites approaching, fired at the guards, thereby alarming the garrison. Walker, fearing an escalade, which had frequently been threatened, at

once drew out a detachment of ten men from each company in the city, and, having put them hastily in as good order as their impatience for action would permit, sallied out of the Ferrygate at their head. Another body, animated with the same desire, sallied forth from the Bishopsgate, and the two advanced impetuously on the battery. Some drove the Jacobite dragoons from their positions, while others took possession of their trenches. The Londonderry men pursued their besiegers so closely that they beat them down with the butt-end of their muskets. The dragoons and infantry took flight in great confusion. Ramsay, in vainly endeavouring to rally them, was killed on the spot, and the pursuit was continued to the top of the hill. The ground contended for was gained by the Londonderry men, who secured the colours, with several drums, fire-arms, ammunition, and all the spoils of war. Pusignan, who fought gallantly, was shot through the body. The wound was one which a skilful surgeon might have cured; but there was no surgeon in the Jacobite camp, and communication with Dublin was slow and irregular. The French commander died, complaining bitterly of the ignorance and negligence which had shortened his days. Other officers killed were Captains Fleming, Fox, and Barnwell, with Lieutenants Kelly and Welsh, and Ensigns Barnwell and Cadell. The prisoners included Lord Netterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot, Lieutenant and Adjutant Newcomen. Colonel Gordon O'Neill was wounded in the thigh. Lord Netterville and Sir Garret Aylmer were badly wounded; they were treated with kindness and the respect due to their rank, being confined in the residence of Mr. Thomas Moore, where a guard was placed over them.

In this skirmish the Jacobites had about 200 men killed, many of them shot in the face, forehead, and chest, over their own lines, as they fired, with little or no effect, upon their more steady and skilful opponents. Walker says that no less

than 500 of them were wounded, 300 of whom died. On the other side some few were wounded, and but three or four privates killed. Towards the finish of the fight some of the garrison left the city and posted themselves judiciously between the windmill and the strand, fearing that the Jacobites, who were in great numbers on the top of the hill above the river-side, might rally and get between their pursuers and the city. Several of these men lined the ditches close to the enemy to prevent them coming down, but they showed no disposition to do so. The whole affair was over at noon, and in the evening the Governors sent a drum to General Hamilton, desiring that he should bury his dead. This was done the next day in a very negligent manner, the soldiers who were sent to perform this duty scarcely covering the bodies with earth. General Ramsay was interred at the Long Tower. He was reckoned the most efficient officer in the Jacobite army, for Hamilton, the commander, had no pretensions to be a general, and had never before been present at a siege.

On the night of the defeat of the Jacobites at Windmill Hill, the Governor of Enniskillen sent to all the garrisons under his command, ordering them to send him speedily all the armed men they could spare; and the next day, May the 7th, he sent Colonel Lloyd with about twelve companies of infantry and some troops of horse towards Ballyshannon. They encountered the Jacobite horse near Belleek, where they soon routed them, killing about 120 of them, and taking about half that number prisoners. All the Jacobite foot fled towards Sligo and escaped, except a few who were taken in the Fish Island, near Ballyshannon, with their Captain, one MacDonagh, a lawyer, popularly known as Blind MacDonagh. The victors secured two small pieces of cannon, several serviceable horses, and some good arms. Thus was Ballyshannon relieved by the Inniskillings, who on this occasion took the field for the first time. The success of this their

initial undertaking greatly encouraged them, especially as they returned to their quarters without losing a man.

Towards the end of May the Governor of Enniskillen, hearing that there was a garrison of the Jacobite army at Redhills, in County Cavan, who harassed Protestants stationed near them, and that another at Ballynacarrig, in the same county, was equally troublesome, dispatched Colonel Lloyd, with 1500 men, to reduce them. The report of his coming, adorned by exaggeration, greatly affected the Jacobites, who fled at his approach, and on his arrival at Redhills the garrison surrendered upon quarter. As the house in which they had posted themselves belonged to Colonel White, a Protestant, and at the time in arms for King William, it was not injured, and Lloyd proceeded with his army to Ballynacarrig, taking his prisoners along with him. The castle at Ballynacarrig was one of the strongest in Ulster, and had even held Cromwell's army at bay, surrendering only when the whole kingdom was subdued. It had at this time, however, but a small garrison and little ammunition, and the news of the taking of Redhills caused so much consternation that it immediately surrendered, on favourable terms for the garrison, leaving the castle and all that it contained in the hands of Lloyd's men. Some pikes, about thirty muskets, a few cases of pistols, and a little gunpowder were discovered. After the soldiers had rifled its contents, the castle was fired, and in a few hours was a heap of ruins. It was deemed politic to destroy this fortress, as it could not be garrisoned.

On the 4th of June, hearing that the Jacobites besieging Londonderry had sent a great many of their horses to graze near Omagh, the Governor of Enniskillen (Gustavus Hamilton) dispatched two troops of dragoons, under the command of Captains Francis Gore and Arnold Crosby, into the parish of Kilskeery, ordering them to keep garrison at Trillick, a house belonging to Captain Audley Mervyn, and about halfway between Enniskillen and Omagh. "They had not staid

there above two days, when taking with them another troop of horse and two companies of foot that quartered in the parish of Kinskerry, they went in the evening about sunset towards Omagh, and before eight the next morning they returned to Trillick with about eighty good horses, taken from the enemy, and nearly as many more of smaller and inferior horses fit for labour, and about three hundred cows." By this action they dismounted about three troops of the Jacobite horse, and might have surprised Omagh, had not news of their coming preceded them, "which gave them time to secure their position, but not to save their cattle".

Some conception of the kind of warfare which was consuming James's army before Londonderry may be gathered from the account given of the action which took place on Tuesday, the 4th of June, as given by Mackenzie, an eye-witness of these great events in the history of Ireland.[1]

"June the fourth, being Tuesday," says Mackenzie, "the enemy approached to our works at the windmill, with a great body of foot and horse. Our men ordered themselves so, that in each redoubt there were four, and in some five reliefs, so that they were in a posture of firing continually. The Irish divided their horse in three parties, and their foot in two. The first party of horse was commanded by Captain Butler (the lord Mountgarret's son), and consisted most of gentlemen, who, 'tis said, had sworn to top our line. They attack our lines at the water-side, and the other parties of horse were to follow the first. The one party of the foot attacks the lines betwixt the windmill and the water, and the other (being grenadiers) the lines at the bog-side, betwixt the windmill and the town. Captains James and John Gladstanes, Captain

[1] In Mackenzie's account the followers of King James are designated "the Irish", and in this he has been followed by all historians of Ireland; but inasmuch as the gallant defenders of Londonderry were also Irish, there being Irish inside the walls as well as without, I have preferred to use the term "Jacobites" to distinguish those who adhered to King James. I have also eschewed the word "enemy" as inapplicable when referring to the relations of one body of Irishmen with another.

Andrew Adams, Captain Francis Boyd, Captain Robert Wallace, Captain John Maghlin, and Captain William Beattie, with their men, had taken their ground next the water.

"The first party of horse charged furiously, having faggots of wood carried before them; they came on with a huzza, seconded with a huge shout from the Irish camp. They came by the end of the line (it being low water) notwithstanding our firing constantly on them. Our men, viz., Captain James Gladstanes, Captain John Gladstanes, with others next to them, left their redoubts, and took to the strand with their muskets, pikes, and scythes, and fell on them with that vigour that soon spoilt the tune of their huzzas, for few of that party escaped. Many of them were driven into the river, and Captain Butler himself taken prisoner by Captain John Gladstanes. The rest of the horse, seeing the first party so warmly received, had no great stomach to come on.

"In the meantime the foot (who had also faggots of wood carried before them,) attack the line betwixt the windmill and the water. They were as warmly received as the horse; and whereas they imagined our men would fire all together, finding that they fired successively, they soon wheeled about and drew off; only a few came furiously to the back of our works, and were either killed or hawled over by the hair of their heads. In the meantime the other party of foot, being grenadiers, attack our forts by the bog-side, and came on fiercely, but were as vigorously repulsed by our men there.

"Colonel Munro did there acquit himself very well; Captain Michael Cunningham (one of the citizens that had been always very active and zealous for the defence of the town,) was at the bog-side with his company, kept our men to their posts, and opposed the grenadiers with great courage. He narrowly escaped with his life, a cannon bullet tearing up the ground about him, and he had a small bullet cut out of his back. Lieutenant James Ker, Lieutenant Josias Abernethy,

and Lieutenant Clark did good service, the latter being wounded. Mr. Thomas Maxwell was killed about the same time on the walls.

"This day governor Baker showed both his conduct and courage in ordering and bringing out frequent reliefs, where the greatest danger appeared. Our women also did good service, carrying ammunition, match, bread, and drink to our men; and assisted to very good purpose at the bog-side in beating off the grenadiers with stones, who came so near to our lines. The enemy lost a considerable number of men. Most of their officers were either killed or taken prisoners. When they retreated they carried away on their backs many of their dead and mortally wounded with them (as was supposed) to shelter themselves the better from the storm of our shot.

"Those of note killed on the enemy's side were: Lieutenant-Colonel Farrell, two French captains, Captain Graham, Lieutenant Burke, Quarter-master Kelly, Adjutant Fahey, Ensign Norris, Ensign Arthur. The prisoners were: Captain Butler, son to the Lord Mountgarret, Captain Macdonnell, Cornet Macdanaghy, Captain Watson, a French lieutenant, Lieutenant Eustace, Sergeant Peggot. We lost five or six private men, and one Captain Maxwell had his arm broke with a cannon bullet, whereof he died within three weeks after; he had that day behaved himself with great courage. And one Thomas Gow had all the flesh shot off the calf of his leg by a cannon bullet; but the bone not being broken he recovered. There were three of our Colonels out that day, Murray, Munro, and Hamil; the last got a hurt on the cheek with a small bullet."

Such were the daily events which characterized this memorable siege of Londonderry. The "faggots of wood" which Mackenzie mentions were carried "for a defence against the shots of their adversaries".

CHAPTER XXX

The Siege of Londonderry (*Cont.*)

The Inhabitants of Londonderry reduced to great straits—The Inniskillings take Omagh—Gustavus Hamilton proceeds against Sutherland, who retreats—He attacks and takes Colonel Scott and other Officers Prisoners—The Inniskillings acquire Valuable Spoils—The Jacobites construct a Boom across the River—The Besieged reduced to living on Horseflesh—An Expeditionary Force sent to their Relief from England under Command of Colonel Kirke—Death of Governor Baker—Colonel John Mitchelburn succeeds him—Kirke's Cowardly Inactivity—Rosen arrives from Dublin—His Barbarous and Cruel Methods of Warfare—His Ultimatum of the 1st of July—The Citizens retaliate by threatening to hang their Prisoners.

"The leafy month of June" saw practically no change in the situation. Bombs continued to play strange pranks, killing those who were in places of comparative safety and sparing those who most exposed themselves. "One of them fell on the Diamond-house, went through it, and fell within six feet of forty-seven barrels of gunpowder which had been buried in a dry well"; another "fell on the house of Captain Cairnes, and made its way down to the cellar, where some of the sick men of Captain Ash's company lay; it killed two of them, and wounded many others". On Friday, the 5th of June, "twenty-six bombs played against the city, by which many were killed and wounded. They broke down houses, raised stones, and made great holes in the streets." The Jacobites now "increased their shells to a great size; some of them were said to weigh two hundred and seventy-three pounds, but their fuses not being prepared in an effectual manner, a great proportion of them fell without bursting,

and did no damage". Those that did burst were very destructive, and terror of them made some of the inhabitants leave their houses at night and lie under the walls, where they contracted diseases, which added to the prevailing mortality.

On the 10th the Governor of Enniskillen, having heard of "the dreadful state of the Protestants in Londonderry, who, it was generally thought, would be obliged to surrender if not relieved in a few days", marched with 2000 men towards Omagh. On the way a false report reached them that Omagh had been abandoned by its garrison; and a small party travelling with the forces, "but not under any command", in their anxiety to reach the town first, marched a mile in advance of the troops and nearly came to grief, being surprised and attacked by Jacobites "that lay in ambuscade in a valley". On the day following Gustavus Hamilton "possessed himself of the whole town except the fort, which he invested; his men being good marksmen, as the Protestants generally were, placed themselves in the houses about it", and fired with such precision upon the besieged "that not a man of them came in view, after one of them had been killed and others wounded". In the midst of these proceedings "an express arrived" informing Hamilton that Sarsfield was besieging Ballyshannon and Colonel Hugh Sutherland had appeared before Belturbet, and he hastened to return to Enniskillen. Omagh would have been burnt to the ground but that it was the property of Audley Mervyn, "a sturdy Protestant", and "for his sake" it was spared.

Gustavus Hamilton returned to Enniskillen not a moment too soon, for Sutherland's force before Belturbet was daily increasing, and it was reported that he intended to invade Fermanagh. To anticipate him the able Governor of Enniskillen directed Colonel Lloyd to take the field against him with the largest force he could collect. When Lloyd reached Macguire's Bridge, midway between Enniskillen and

Belturbet, a spy fled at his approach and gave Sutherland a grossly exaggerated account of his forces. Sutherland had with him at Belturbet only two regiments of foot, a regiment of dragoons, and a few troops of horse. He had brought with him from Dublin spare arms for two regiments to be utilized for such as should join him, and he had also "some pieces of cannon and a great store of biscuit, wheat, flour, malt, and other provision" in case he besieged Enniskillen. When the news of Lloyd's approach reached him, he gave credence to the exaggerated account of the numbers of his opponents, and considered it unsafe to remain any longer at Belturbet, "there being no place of strength there but the church and graveyard about it, and not large enough to contain the men he had with him". He therefore retreated towards Monaghan (intending, if pursued, to get under shelter of the fort at Charlemont), and left a detachment in Belturbet of eighty dragoons, with about 200 foot, under the command of his Lieutenant, Edward Scott, and some other officers.

Lloyd did not pursue Sutherland's retreating forces but pressed on to Belturbet, ordering Captains Robert Vaughan and Hugh Galbraith to advance with two troops of dragoons. Within two miles of the town they were fired upon by a troop of dragoons, upon which they sprang from their saddles and lined the ditches on both sides of the road, which unusual manœuvre, and the sudden appearance of the main body at this moment, caused the Jacobite dragoons to retreat to Belturbet, where with the rest of Scott's command, "they took post in and about the church, and in the Archbishop of Dublin's house adjoining to it, and commanding them so from a range of windows in an upper story, that it appeared to be almost impossible for the assailants to stand within the range of their fire". After two hours skirmishing, in which the Jacobites proved themselves but indifferent marksmen, and having lost a large number, they surrendered upon conditions. The

prisoners included Lieutenant-Colonel Scott and thirteen other officers. On the morrow "two hundred of the meanest of these prisoners" were discharged, the victors being unwilling or unable to maintain them, and the rest were taken to Enniskillen, together with some seven hundred muskets, "a barrel and a half" of gunpowder, eighty mounts for dragoons, "with all the accoutrements belonging to them, about twenty horse-loads of biscuit, above fifty sacks of flour, one hundred sacks of wheat, some malt and other provisions, and as many red coats as served two companies of men, who were in great want of such cloathing". All these valuable spoils, with the exception of the horses, were conveyed in boats over Lough Erne to Enniskillen, where they proved very acceptable, especially the gunpowder, which was found to be equal in amount to that in the stores.

Matters, however, wore a very different aspect in Londonderry. It was known to the Jacobites that the stock of food in the city was but slender. Indeed it was thought strange that the supplies should have held out so long. Every precaution was now taken by the Jacobites against the introduction of provisions. All the avenues leading to the city were closely guarded. The river was fringed with forts and batteries, which no vessel could pass without great peril. After some time it was determined to make assurance doubly sure by constructing a boom across the river about a mile and a half below the city. Several boats full of large stones were sunk in mid-stream, and a row of stakes was driven into the bed of the river. Finally some young fir-trees were uprooted, and, being lashed together, formed a boom more than a quarter-mile in length. This was held in position on both shores by cables a foot thick, attached to monoliths prepared for the purpose. The siege was thus turned into a blockade.

Within the walls the lack of provisions began to be severely felt. Precautionary methods included the pickling of horse-flesh procured by dragging in the dead animals

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY

From a contemporary Dutch print

which had been killed in the second engagement at Windmill Hill, and the reduction of all the inhabitants to the minimum of rations needed to preserve life. "One Mr. James Cunningham, merchant, found out a way of supplying the garrison for six or seven days; he showed them where there was a good quantity of starch in the town, which they mixed with tallow and made pancakes of, which proved not only good food, but physic too to many of those whom weariness and ill-diet had cast into a flux." Famine now stared the citizens in the face, and many died of hunger. They were now reduced to such straits that if those on the look-out reported that a horse was grazing near the walls, an armed party forthwith sallied out to keep guard while others endeavoured to catch the animal. When caught, the wretched steed was killed to supply food. Horse-flesh was the only meat, and of horse-flesh the supply was scanty.

It must not be thought that William was so busy or so blind as to be neglectful of his faithful adherents in Londonderry. The relief of the city was the thought uppermost in his mind. It is on such subjects as these that a true Parliament knows no party. Political sentiment vanished, to be replaced by that which knits all men together in a common cause, and this was combined with one which appeals peculiarly to Britons: admiration for true bravery, delight in the exhibition of courage in the face of a great danger. "Are those brave fellows in Londonderry to be deserted?" cried Colonel John Birch, who had been in the service of the Commonwealth; "if we lose them, will not all the world cry shame on us? A boom across the river! Why have we not cut the boom in pieces? Are our brethren to perish almost in sight of England, within a few hours' voyage of our shores?" Public agitation became so great that an expeditionary force, consisting of thirteen sail and 5000 men, under the command of Colonel Percy Kirke, of Tangier notoriety, sailed from Liverpool for Londonderry on the 22nd of May,

carrying a supply of provisions; but contrary winds made the passage slow, and detained the vessels a long time at the Isle of Man.

On the 13th of June, a gleam of hope appeared for the beleaguered city, in which fever, cholera, and famine had come to dwell. The sentinels on the roof of the cathedral saw with mingled wonder and delight, nine miles away on the silvery waters of Lough Foyle, the spread of white sails in the sunshine of the summer morning. The good news gladdened every heart. Signals were sent from the steeples and returned from the mastheads, but were imperfectly understood on both sides. At last a messenger from the fleet eluded the Jacobite sentinels, dived under the boom, and informed the garrison that Kirke had arrived from England to relieve the city.

In Londonderry hopes ran high, but were doomed to disappointment. A few hours of feverish gladness were followed by weeks of misery. Kirke had received false reports of the strength of the defences, and, being afraid to risk his ships, he determined to station himself at Inch, an island about six miles from Londonderry, and there he lay for weeks inactive, a shameful example of cowardice, his lazy ships still visible from the cathedral tower. There, before the eyes of the citizens, were sacks of meal ready to be landed, and hundreds of brave men ready and eager to come to their help, but all rendered useless and inert by the cowardice of their commander.

James became irritated and alarmed at the protracted defence of Londonderry and at the attempt to relieve it, and he therefore directed Rosen to return to the north and push on the operations more vigorously. Rosen arrived at the Jacobite camp on the 20th of June. The heat of midsummer had increased the disease and mortality among the population, closely cooped up within the walls, to such a degree that they buried in one day fifteen officers who had died of fever; and they sustained a still greater loss by the death on the 30th,

from the same disease, of Henry Baker, their governor, who on his death-bed recommended Colonel John Mitchelburn as his successor. But the courage of the soldiers and citizens remained unabated; they showed no diminution in the energy with which they defended their walls; and they became skilful miners in endeavouring to countermine their assailants. They continued to make sallies, and although their numbers were greatly diminished, they were generally successful; yet the results of these exploits were of little advantage, save in prolonging the struggle and keeping up the spirits of the defenders. Hamilton, on sending into the city in an empty bomb offers of favourable conditions, had his offers treated with scorn by the besieged, who replied that they could place no reliance in one who had betrayed the confidence reposed in him by their king.

Rosen, infuriated by the prolonged siege and the defiant attitude of the citizens, attempted to undermine the walls; but his plan was discovered, and he was compelled to abandon it after a sharp fight in which more than a hundred of his men were slain. Enraged beyond measure, Rosen, who was a native of Livonia, and whose temper was as savage as his manners were coarse, now determined to employ methods of warfare worthy of the Teuton in his most brutal mood. On the 30th of June he sent a letter into Londonderry threatening the citizens that unless "betwixt this and Monday next, at six of the clock in the afternoon, being the first of July, in the year of our Lord 1689", they agreed "to surrender the said place of Londonderry . . . that he will forthwith issue out his orders from the barony of Inishowen, and the seacoasts round about as far as Charlemont, for the gathering together of those of their faction, whether protected or not, and cause them immediately to be brought to the walls of Londonderry, where it shall be lawful for those in the same (in any they have any pity of them) to open the gates and receive them into

the city, otherwise they will be forced to see their friends and nearest relations all starved for want of food, he having resolved not to leave any of them at home, nor anything to maintain them". Rosen also demanded "hostages and other deputies, with a full and sufficient power to treat with us for the surrender of the said city of Londonderry, on reasonable conditions", failing which the army "shall have orders to give no quarter, or spare age or sex, in case" the city "is taken by force".

Having given vent to his wrath in this letter, Rosen addressed another to James enclosing a copy of the one addressed to Londonderry, and stated that he had been led to adopt this measure from the little hopes he had of reducing the city in any other way. The trenches, he said, were so filled by the tide and the incessant rains, that the army under his command was in danger of being destroyed by sickness, and, further, he threatened to resign the command if his projected action should be disapproved of by the King. His barbarous order caused serious differences between Hamilton and Rosen, the former being warmly supported by the majority of the Jacobite officers. Rosen, however, as Commander-in-Chief, was supreme, and, not receiving any reply to his letter to Londonderry, issued on the 1st of July an order to his officers, in which he says: "As I have certain information that the wives and children of the rebels in Londonderry have retired to Belfast and the neighbouring places, and as the hardiness of their husbands and fathers deserves the severest chastisements, I write this letter to acquaint you, that you are instantly to make an exact search in Belfast and its neighbourhood, after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the King, whether men, women, boys, or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry,

where they shall be allowed to starve, in sight of the rebels within the town, unless they choose to open their ports to them". In another paragraph of the same order Rosen desires that infants should be included, and that none of any age whatever should be suffered to escape.

On the 2nd of July the besieged sent a reply to Rosen stating that they had read his threatening letter in their families and had taken great offence at its contents, by which they understood that no articles of capitulation could be made with him; that his avowed intention of breaking the protections already granted proved that no performance of any new promises could be expected from him. They also observed, that a copy of the commission granted to Rosen was dated on the first day of the preceding month of May, after which a Parliament had passed an Act in Dublin, whereby their lives and properties had been declared to be forfeited, and that, therefore, they did not consider him duly authorized to treat with them, and desired he would procure another commission.

Upon the receipt of this answer Rosen caused his orders to be put into execution, and, beginning with the Protestants in the immediate neighbourhood, had them collected in all directions into churches and other public buildings, some of them into dirty pounds and derelict dwellings, having first stripped them of clothes and otherwise maltreated them. The Jacobite officers employed in this cruel service executed their orders under protest, and many of them declared long afterwards that the lamentations of the persecuted people still rang in their ears. Richard Hamilton in particular was so moved by the sight that, in defiance of Rosen, his commanding officer, he ordered provisions to be distributed among groups of the terror-stricken creatures as they passed through the Jacobite camp.

Five thousand (according to some accounts seven thousand) miserable people, of all ages and both sexes, some

sick and some with infants at the breast, were driven under the walls of Londonderry by soldiers with drawn swords. When they first came in sight of the city they were mistaken for a column of the besieging army advancing to storm it, and, to add to their terrors, they were received by a volley of small shot from their friends on the walls; but, strange to say, none were injured, the only persons killed being three of their military custodians. When it was realized that Rosen was carrying out his threat, a universal cry for vengeance went up, and a gallows was immediately erected on the walls for the execution in the sight of the Jacobite army of all prisoners in the city; and a trumpeter was sent to the camp with notice that the citizens of Londonderry would permit the entrance of some "Popish Priests" to prepare them for death. The unhappy prisoners included Lord Netterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, the Hon. Captain Butler, and Mr. Newcomen, and they now wrote to Hamilton imploring him to convey the facts of their sad case to Rosen, to whom they had already made application without receiving any response. They stated their willingness to die like soldiers, with swords in their hands, but begged that they should be spared the ignominious death of malefactors. Hamilton replied, by order of his commanding officer, that the Protestants driven under the walls of the city had to thank themselves for that misfortune; that they had had conditions offered to them which they might have accepted; that if those addressed should suffer for this it could not be helped, but that their death would be revenged in thousands. Hamilton in his letter confounded those without the walls with those within. The letter proves how difficult it is to pen an untruthful statement with precision.

The garrison was by this time (2nd July) reduced from the 7500 effective men it had consisted of at the commencement of the siege to 5709 living skeletons.

INDEX TO VOL. III

Abernethy, Lieutenant Josias, 245.
Acts of Settlement, 199.
Adair, Sir Patrick, 175.
— Sir Robert, 161.
Adams, Captain Andrew, 245.
Adventurers, the, 156.
Agher, 144.
Antrim, Alexander MacDonald, Earl of, 3, 62, 63, 106, 201.
— Declaration of, 211.
Ardee, 39.
Ardtully Castle, 76, 80.
Armagh, 44, 48, 65, 68, 80, 81.
Arsdekin, Richard, 190.
Articles of Peace, the, 103.
Ash, Captain, 234.
Ashton, Sir Arthur, 112, 113.
Athenry, Lord, 103.
Athy, 98.
Attainder, Bill of, 2.
Auchinbreck, Campbell of, 81.
Avaux, Count, 225, 226.
Aylmer, Sir Garrett, 241.

Bagnall, Dudley, 231.
Bagwell, Mr. Richard, 117.
Baker, Major Henry, Governor of Londonderry, 233.
Balbriggan, 95.
Ballycastle, 131.
Ballyhays, 55.
Ballyshannon, 44, 47, 143, 242.
Barnwell, Sir Nicholas, 23.
— Sir Patrick, 7.
— Sir Richard, 59, 103.
Barry, Garrett, 6.
— John, 6.
Beare, Philip O'Sullivan, 190.
Beatty, William, 236, 245.
Bedell, Bishop William, 22.
Belfast, 64, 65, 98, 120, 125.
Bellew, Sir Christopher, 23.
Bellings, Richard, 90, 138.
Belturbet, 23, 55, 144.
Benburb, 68, 81, 82, 90.
Berkeley, John, Lord, 185.
Bermingham, John, 6.
Blair, David, 236.
— Thomas, 236.
Blayney, Lord, 17, 83, 201, 216.
Blood, Colonel Thomas, 181.
Borlase, Sir John, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 28, 39, 52, 56.
Boyd, Captain Francis, 245.
Boyle, Michael (Primate), 192.
Boyne, 51.
Broghill, Lord. (See Orrery.)
Browne, Geoffrey, 59, 103, 138.
Brownlow, Sir William, 48.
Bull, Nathaniel, 236.
— Samuel, 236.
Burke, Richards, 6.
Butler, Colonel Edward, 231.
— John, 6.

Cairnes, David, 203, 204, 223.
Cairns, William, 202.
Campsie, Henry, 202.
Carew, Sir George, 5.
Carlingford, 4, 41.
Carlyle, Thomas, 105.
Carrickfergus, 6, 32, 41, 42, 60, 62, 64, 66, 99, 100, 123, 200.
Carrickmacross, 16, 17, 144.
Castle, Colonel, 113.
Castleblaney, 16, 17.
Castlehaven, George, 1st Earl of, 3, 4, 21, 50, 58, 66, 68, 69, 79, 108.
Castlejordan, 94, 95, 130.
Caulfeild, Lord, 16, 20, 133.
Cavan, 17, 23, 51, 54, 55.
Cavanagh, Colonel Charles, 232.
Charlemont, Fort of, 16, 20, 47, 48, 51, 133, 134.
Charles I, King, 10, 52, 53, 71, 104.
— II, King, 104, 105, 166, 187.
Charleton, Edward, 217.
Chichester of Belfast, Baron, 32.
Clancarty, Donough, Earl of, 230.
Clanrickard, Marquis of, 53, 89, 92, 108, 138, 142.
Clarendon, Henry Hyde, Earl of, 195, 199.
Clogher, 100.
Clones, 51.
Clotworthy, Sir John, 5, 12, 13, 48, 93.
Cloughoughter, 119, 133.
Cochran, Captain, 236.
Cole, Sir William, 11, 44, 45, 64, 107.
Coleraine, 44, 84, 120, 222.
Colgan, John, 190.
Commissioners of Trust, the, 103, 106.
Confederates, the, 77, 80, 87, 94, 99.
Conway, Edward, Lord, 33, 42, 48.
Coote, Sir Charles, 31, 32, 35, 36, 61, 62, 76, 77, 96, 100, 107–9, 123, 132, 140, 142, 165.
Corbet, Miles, 144.
Cox, Richard, 116, 192.
Creagh, Sir Michael, 230.
Crichton, Rev. George, 25, 26.
Crighton, Captain, 220.
Crom Castle, 218, 219.
Cromwell, Henry, 152, 161, 162, 164.

Cromwell, Oliver, 110, 111, 121, 162.
— Richard, 164.
Cromwellian Settlement, the, 156 *et seq.*
Crookshanks, William, 202.
Culmore, Fort of, 100.
Cunningham, Alexander, 202.
— John, 202.
— Michael, 245.

Dalziel, General Thomas, 123.
Digby, Lord, 76, 89.
Dillon, Sir James, 6, 51, 67.
— Sir Lucas, 59, 103.
— Lord, 103.
Dixie, Captain, 217.
Doe Castle, 132.
Domville, Sir William, 168.
Donegal, 143.
Doneraile, 130.
Down Admeasurement of Ireland, the, 155.
Drogheda, 28, 30, 31, 38, 54, 69, 94, 108, 109, 111.
Dromore, 81.
Dublin, 28, 94.
Duleek, 33.
Duncannon, 138.
Dundalk, 40, 41, 43, 44, 54, 109.
Dundrum, 85.
Dungannon, 8, 48.
Dungan's Hill, 94.
Dungiven, 131.
Dunsany, Lord, 33.

Edenderry, 58.
Edgehill, 50.
Enniskillen, 11, 44, 45, 95, 107, 130, 200, 201, 205, 242.
— Lord, 143.
Essex, Arthur, Earl of, 186.
Eustace, Sir Maurice, 53, 231.

Fanshawe, Sir Richard, 102.
Farnell, Gerald, 103.
Farrell, Lieutenant-General, 109.
Ffennell, Colonel, 68, 141.
Ffolliott, Captain, 44.
Fingall, Earl of, 37, 55.
Fitzgerald, Nicholas, 231.
Fitzpatrick, Colonel John, 143.
Fleming, Patrick, 190.
Forbes, Sir Arthur (later Earl of Granard), 166, 193, 197.
Four Masters, the, 190.
Fox, Captain, 19, 33.
French, Bishop, 101.
Froude, James Anthony, 115.

Galmoy, Pierce Butler, 3rd Viscount, 217 *et seq.*, 230.
Galway, 4.
Garristown, 95.
Geeves, Alderman, 70.
General Assembly, 50.
Gladstanes, Captain James, 244.
— — John, 244.
Glamorgan, Herbert, Earl of, 71–6, 90.
Glasslough, 81.
Gordon, Rev. James, 201.
Gormanston, Viscount, 22, 23, 30, 33, 34, 37, 49.
Gow, Thomas, 246.
Grace, Colonel Richard, 143.
Grenville, Sir Richard, 37.

Hamilton, Anthony, 214.
— Sir Frederick, 44, 64, 76.
— Gustavus (later Lord Boyne), 206.
— Captain James, 222.
— Colonel Richard, 214, 230.
Harcourt, Sir Simon, 37.
Harvey, Samuel, 202.
Healy, M.P., Timothy Michael, 3.
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 53, 63.
Hewson, John, 130.
Higgins, Father, 32.
Hillsborough, 215.
Hopkins, Ezekiel, Bishop of Londonderry, 202.
Howell, James, 4.
Hunt, Samuel, 202.

Inchiquin, Morrough O'Brien, Baron, 97, 100, 108, 109, 121, 138.
Ireton, Henry, 129, 141, 142.
Irwin, Alexander, 202.
Island Magee, 25.

James I, King, 10.
— II, King, 187.
Jones, Very Rev. Henry, Dean of Kilmore, 22.
— Right Rev. Henry, Bishop of Clogher, 100.
— Michael, 94, 95, 100, 107, 108.
— Sir Theophilus, 111, 145.
Julianstown, 31.

Keating, Geoffry, 190.
Kells, 54.
Kildare, George, Earl of, 23.
Kilkenny, 50, 53, 62, 67, 73, 79, 87, 90, 97, 102.
King, Major John, 132.
Kinnegad, 130.
Kinsale, 104, 108.
Knocknacloy Lake, 84.
Knocknanuss, 97

Laurence Colonel Richard, 149.
Lecky, Wm. E. Hartpole, 117.
Leicester, Robert Sidney, 2nd Earl of, 24.
Leighton, Captain, 212.
Leixlip, 90.
Leven, Earl of, 45, 49, 50.
Lifford, 100.
Limavady Castle, 131.
Lisburn, 32, 65, 84, 120.
Lisle, Lord, 96.
Lismella, 205.
Loftus, Sir Adam, 15, 58.
Lombard, Peter, 190.
Londonderry, 44, 64, 100, 108, 109, 118, 209.
Longford, 54.
Lorraine, Duke of, 138 *et seq.*
Louis XIV, King, 226.
Louth, Lord, 33.
Lucas, Sir Thomas, 45, 49, 50.
Ludlow, Edmund, 142, 144.
Lundy, Robert, 207, 222, 232.
Lynch, Archdeacon, 190.

MacDonnell, Colonel Alexander, 103.
— Sir Alexander MacColl (Colkitto), 45, 63, 94.
MacEgan, Bartholomew, 85.
MacFirbis, Duald, 190.
MacMahon, Colonel Bernard, 81, 82.
— Collo MacBrian, 8.
— Colonel Art Roe, 33, 39.
— Ever, Bishop of Clogher, 8, 94, 100, 127, 130, 132.
— Colonel Hugh Oge, 8, 12, 13, 14, 19, 44.
MacNeny, Colonel Patrick, 81, 82.
MacPhelim, Hugh, 8.
Macaulay, Lord (quoted), 188.
Mackenzie, Rev. John (quoted), 239.

Magennis, Sir Con, 8, 16, 32.
— Ever, 59.
Maghlin, Captain John, 247.
Maguire, Lord, 7, 8, 11, 13, 19.
— Roger, 7.
— Captain Brian MacConagher, 220.
Maumont, General, 225, 237.
Mazarin, Cardinal, 76.
Mazzari, Dean, 85, 98.
Melfort, John, Lord, 225.
Mellifont, 30.
Meredith, Sir R., 58.
Mervyn, Sir Audley, 64, 100, 169.
Messingham, Thomas, 190.
Milton, John, 106, 126.
Monck, George, 37, 96, 99, 109.
Moneymore, 13, 49.
Montgomery, Sir James, 84.
Montgomery of Ardes, Lord, 48, 108, 109, 110.
Morison, James, 202.
Morrison, Robert, 202.
Mount-Alexander, Hugh, Earl of, 201.
Mountcashel, Lord, 238.
Mountgarret, Lord, 74.
Mountjoy, Fort, 16.
— Lord, 207–8.
Munro, Daniel, 81.
— Colonel Sir George, 81, 82, 84, 87, 108, 120.
— Major-General Robert, 41, 42, 44, 46, 50, 51, 62, 64, 65, 67, 77, 81–4, 93.
Murray, Captain Adam, 232, 233, 236.
Muskerry, Lord, 59, 74, 77, 90, 143.

Naas, 32.
Naseby, Battle of, 73, 75.
Netterville, John, 2nd Viscount, 33, 241.
Neville, Captain Francis, 231.
Newcomen, Sir Thomas, 194.
"New Interest", the, 199.
Newry, 33, 42, 44, 215.
Newtown-Limavady, 204, 205.
— Stewart, 208.
Norman, Alderman, 203.
Nugent, Sir Thomas, 23, 198.

O'Byrne, Hugh, 19, 31, 33, 37.
O'Callaghan, Donough, 103.
O'Clery. (See Four Masters.)
O'Connolly, Owen, 12–4, 24, 46, 63.
O'Daly, Dominic, 190.
O'Donnell, Captain Donnell, 7.
O'Dwyer, Colonel Edmund, 143.
O'Farrell, Colonel Richard, 83.
O'Flaherty, Roderick, 190.
O'Hugh, Edmund, 134.
O'Moore, Rory, 7, 8, 19, 31, 33, 34.
O'Neill, Captain Art, 7.
— Con Bacagh, 8.
— Captain Cormack, 7.
— Daniel, 89, 119, 138.
— Colonel Gordon, 243.
— Henry, 6, 43, 46, 121, 132.
— Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, 6, 46.
— Hugh Duv, 119, 128, 141, 142.
— John, titular Earl of Tyrone, 6, 9, 46.
— Sir Neill, 231.
— — Nial, 9.
— Owen Roe, 7–9, 46, 47, 49–51, 62, 66–9, 77, 79, 80, 82–7, 89, 91, 94, 96, 98, 101, 106, 109, 119.
— Sir Phelim, 7–9, 11, 16, 20, 21, 30, 32, 37–9, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 77, 80, 82, 84, 90, 101, 102, 132, 134, 145–7.
— Turlogh, 8, 59, 103.
O'Quin, Tirlogh Groom, 145.
O'Reilly, Edmund, 101.
— Hugh Boy, 33.
— Philip M'Hugh, 8, 17, 31, 145.
— Tirlogh MacShane MacPhillip, 25, 26.
Ormonde, James Butler, 2nd Earl of, 28, 31, 39, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 69, 72, 77, 86, 89, 92, 94, 101–3, 106, 108, 120, 121, 126, 192.
Orrery, Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of, 163, 167.

Parsons, Sir William, 5, 10, 11, 14, 28, 39, 52, 54, 58.
Patrick's Purgatory, St., 95.
Peters, Hugh, 111.
Petty, Sir William, 152.
Philips, George, 204.
Plunket, Sir Nicholas, 59, 101, 138.
— Oliver, 190.
Plunket, Richard, 6, 7.
Plunkett, Archdeacon, 54.
Pope Innocent X, 74.
Portadown, 23.
Porter, Sir Charles, 197.
— Endymion, 73.
— George, 6.
Portlester, 51, 67.
Preston, James, 98.
— Jenico, 231.
— Thomas, 7, 49, 50, 57, 87, 90–4.
Pusignan, Marquis de, 225.

Queely, Malachy, 76.

Ramor, Lough, 55.
Ramsay, General, 231, 241.
Rawdon, Sir Arthur, 201, 209, 215.
— Sir George, 33.
Reilly, Miles, 103.
Reynolds, John, 130.
Rice, Stephen, Irish Chief Baron, 208.
Richards, Colonel, 227.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 46, 51.
Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, 74–6, 80, 85, 87, 88, 93, 96–8, 103.
Robartes, Lord (later Earl of Radnor), 185.
Rochelle, 49, 76.
Roper, Major, 30, 31.
Rosen, Count of, 225.
Roth, David, 190.
Rothe, James, 6.
— John, 6.
Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, 3.
Rupert, Prince, 104, 108.

St. Malo, 49.
Santry, Lord, 168.
Saunderson, Archibald, 236.
Scots in Ulster, the, 24, 64, 68, 85.
Scott, Sir Walter, 42.
Scout, Theodore, 57.
Sherrard, Daniel, 202.
— Robert, 202.
Skeffington, Clotworthy, 211.
Slane, Lord, 33, 39, 231.
Sligo, 140.
Solemn League and Covenant, 63.
Spain, King Philip III of, 6.
— — — IV of, 142.
Spike, James, 202.
Stewart, James, 202.
— Sir Robert, 44, 51, 64, 76, 81, 100, 107.

Stewart, Sir William, 44.
Stigginstown, 59.
Strabane, Lord, 236.

Taaff, Friar Peter, 116.
Taaffe, Lord, 97, 108.
— Theobald, 6.
Talbot, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, 193, 195, 199.
— Sir Robert, 22, 77.
— Colonel, 241.
Taylor, Jeremy, 175 *et seq.*
Temple, Sir John, 15, 17, 58.
Tichborne, Sir Henry, 37–41, 43, 54, 62, 69, 94, 95.
Tipperary, 4.
Tomkins, Alderman, 201.
Toome, 131.
"Tories", 153.
Trevor, Colonel Mark, 109, 120.
Trim, 130.
Tuam, 76.
Turner, Sir James, 42, 84.
Tyringham, Sir Arthur, 33.

Ussher, Archbishop, 62.

Vane, Sir Henry, 10.
Vaughan, Colonel, 143.
Venables, Colonel Robert, 120, 123, 134.

Wadding, Father Luke, 6, 46, 190.
Walker, Rev. George, 233.
Wallace, Captain Robert, 245.
Waller, Sir Hardress, 142, 166.
Walsh, John, 59.
— Thomas, 76.
Ward, Hugh, 190.
Ware, Sir James, 190.
Waterford, 65.
Weaver, John, 144.
Wemyss, Sir Patrick, 30.
Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Thomas, 1, 2, 6, 10.
Westmeath, Lord, 143.
Wexford, 49.
Wharton, Sir Thomas, 57.
White, Father, 32.
— Stephen, 190.
William IV, King, 207, 214.
Willoughby, Sir Francis, 15, 89.
Windmill Hill, 240.
Wolves, 150.
Wood, Anthony à, 117.
— Thomas, 117.
Worcester, Marquis of, 71.

PRINTED AND BOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018